

# **The Environmental Politics of the Creation of Kahurangi National Park**

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A thesis  
submitted in partial  
fulfilment of the requirements  
for the degree of  
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in Geography

by Simon Powrie

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Frontispiece - The Cobb River in Kahurangi National Park.





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## Abstract

This thesis seeks to examine the environmental politics associated with the creation of Kahurangi National Park in 1996. The aims of the thesis are to look at the growth of national parks throughout time and how they have created a platform whereby the Kahurangi landscape became eligible for park status. Conflict of interests regarding Kahurangi occurred, involving many groups who participated in the official investigation process. Also the creation of the park has impacted on the region and this is analysed one year after its creation.

The park is explained in the context of the growth of landscape preservation since the nineteenth century. Natural landscape has been treated as a commodity throughout time and preservation must not be seen as a benevolent act of protecting the environment for its own sake, but for human desires and needs. Kahurangi represents a different type of park from the 'icon' centred landscapes of New Zealand's other parks due to the evolution of social and economic circumstances. Many interest groups valued the Kahurangi landscape and they sought to protect their interests by manipulating the process. The impact on the park and region has not as yet been significant due to the short space of time for any change to occur however, the key to any management plan is balancing free access and preservation. In the future, without proper management, preservation will slowly be relegated behind free access and this access will be restricted to those that can afford park charges.



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# Chapter One

## Introduction

### 1.1 Different Values

When Kahurangi National Park was officially opened in 1996 it was the end result for the Department of Conservation (DoC) of five years investigation and before that, 15 years of lobbying from conservationists, recreation groups and the public. Yet its creation was fraught with conflict as environmental values held by groups and individuals clashed. Two examples show arguments regarding the value of the park however, the difference between them is in how they perceive the landscape. Conservationists had long argued that the area encompassing the park was of ecological importance containing one half of New Zealand's 2,400 native plants, 67 of which are exclusive to New Zealand. Fauna consists of eighteen species of native bird, including populations of Great Spotted Kiwi, Rock Wren, Blue Duck and Kea (North West South Island (NWSI) investigation 1992: 51). The geological features of the area include "some of the most ancient in the country, and the diversity of rock types is greater than that found anywhere else in New Zealand" (Hindmarsh 1995: 106).

Another perceived view of the landscape was held by the Ministry of Commerce regarding the economic value of the area. They stated that "the proposal to change the land status of nearly half a million hectares of New Zealand will have significant negative economic impacts, and thus the North West Nelson investigation must take into account the overall economic and social objectives of Government". The overall rationale for this argument was that "over 200,000 people are currently unemployed in New Zealand, and strategies are required to address this problem, both in the short and the longer term. Faster economic growth will provide the main source of job growth and lower unemployment. New Zealand has a small economy dependent on commodity trade, and thus growth in the economy requires strong export growth and investment performance. To succeed, New Zealand must be outward looking, and it needs to act to remove constraints to economic developments which will provide economic growth and

jobs" (Ministry of Commerce 1992, submission).

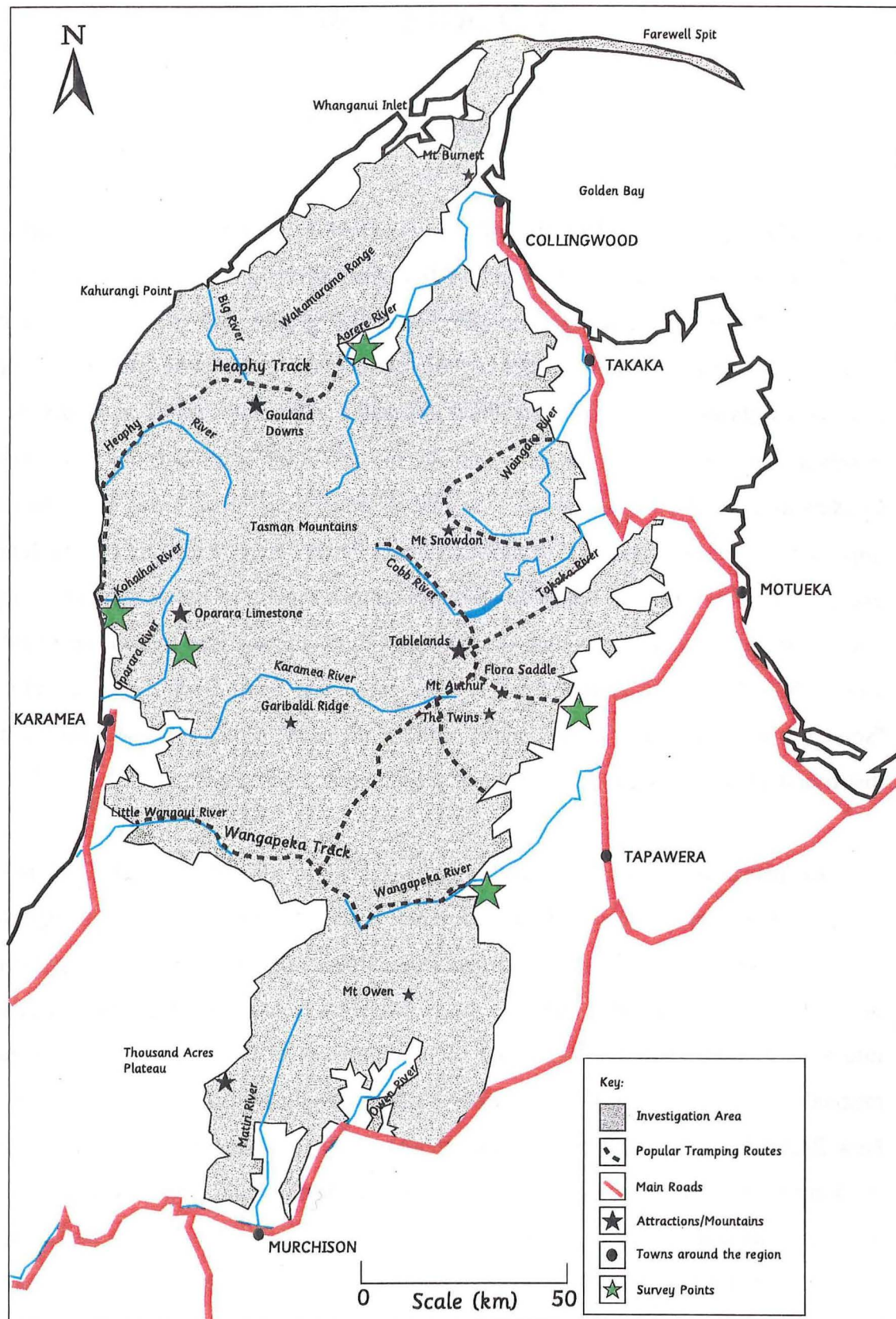


Fig 1.1 Map of the investigation area (Source: Author).

What these examples show is that people have always perceived the landscape in different ways. For some people a tree should be valued for its wood, for others it should be valued for itself. Conflict arises when these views are pitted against each other and a decision needs to be made supporting one interpretation rather than the other. Which view is right? (O'Riordon 1976).

It is these varied and changing views and how they affected the North West Nelson area which attracted me to writing this thesis. Growing up in Nelson I have known the area the park encapsulates well, and therefore any change will have a great significance to me. Up until 1996 the area was known as the North West Nelson Forest Park (NWN) and was a popular recreation area for the people of Tasman Bay and Buller (Fig 1.1). What I found interesting was the 'icon' centred images of the country's other parks were in stark contrast to the less spectacular NWN area. Parks such as Fiordland were dominated by Mitre Peak and the scenery of Milford Sound; other parks were imposing mountain landscapes, such as Mt Cook, Tongariro and Taranaki.

The reason for the contrast was up until the 1980's New Zealand's national parks were quite unrepresentative of the country's landscapes, "being composed of largely what used to be called 'wasteland': mostly alpine and upland native forest areas for which there were no realistic alternative uses" (Pawson 1996, p262). The environment has long been valued as a commodity. The creation of the first national parks was a result of the nineteenth century elite wishing to preserve the natural 'wonders' of their respective countries. These people had the wealth and the time to appreciate the natural landscape and sought protection of this through preservation. Throughout the twentieth century the number of people able to value national parks has grown however, the national parks are still the domain of only a section of the population they claimed to serve.

Therefore the growth of scenic preservation from the late nineteenth century created a platform whereby it became possible for areas such as Kahurangi to become eligible for national park status. Traditionally in New Zealand the national land area had long been divided between these areas of wasteland (the conservation lands) and those used primarily for production illustrated in Fig 1.2.

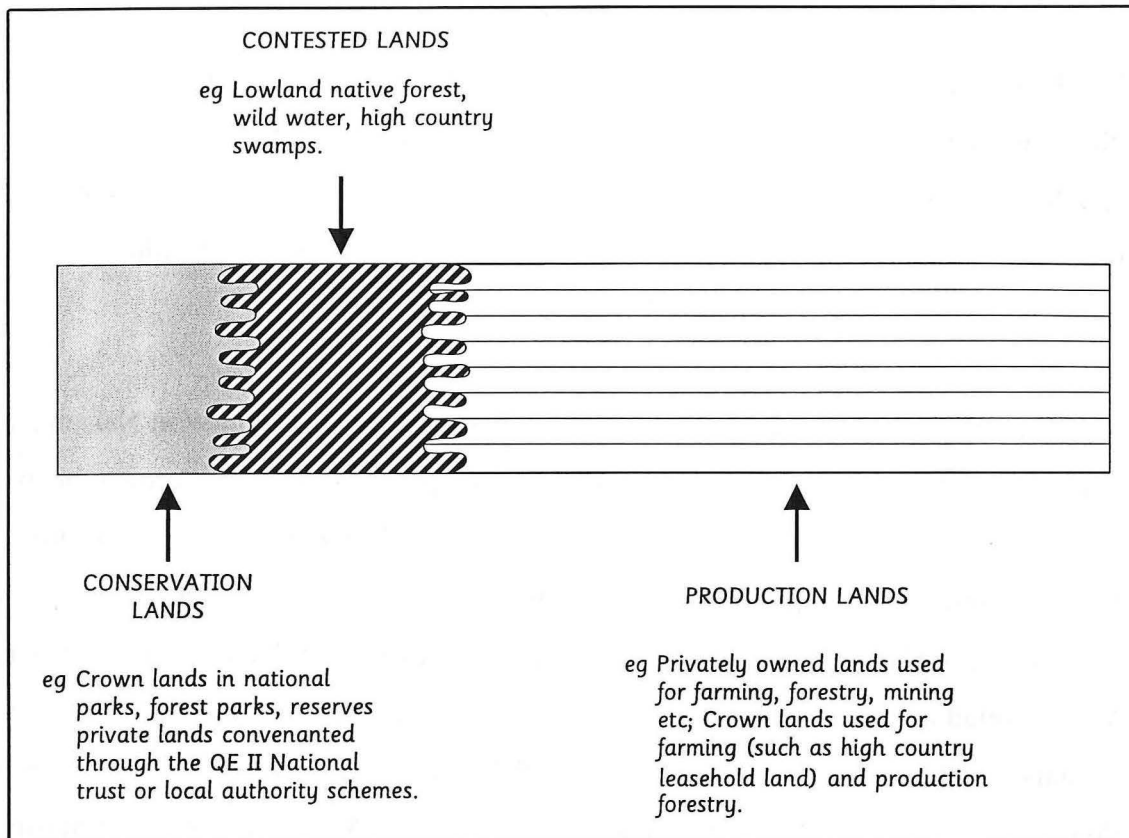


Fig 1.2 A schematic representation of the national land area (Pawson 1996: 260).

However, debate arises when an area had landscapes which could not be so easily categorised for production or wasteland areas, such as lowland native forest, white water, swamp and high country areas, the so-called contested lands. Why debate arose regarding Kahurangi was that it was made up of this contested land. For some the area of Kahurangi was land waiting for production and for others the area should be accorded national park status. What I investigated during my fieldwork was the conflicting environmental values between those for and against the creation of the national park.

The fieldwork throughout the summer involved talking to people with different environmental values and gaining an insight into the reasons for their views. In order to achieve this I conducted interviews with key people concerned with the park, and also looked at the public policy process which claims to give the public, as a whole, a chance to participate in the decision about national park status. During the investigation process the DoC went about gaining the views of people through public meeting and the submission process. The DoC investigation board had the unenviable task of taking people's beliefs and deciding which views they would accept. How did

they decide?

The second part of my fieldwork looked at the impact the park is having on the region after almost one year of existence. In surveying businesses around the park and the actual users of the park itself I hoped to gauge the immediate impact of the park's creation on the region. During the debate many claims were made about the results of the area becoming a national park and it was these claims, particularly related to the effects of tourism, which were tested.

## 1.2 The History of the Area

### 1.2.1 Maori History

Polynesians settled in the area at least 700 to 800 years ago. From archaeological history it appears that there was almost constant settlement in coastal regions and seasonal expeditions to the interior during this period. Settlement was concentrated around large river mouths and estuaries which provided both shelter and abundant food resources. The most notable sites are the Kohaihai, Heaphy, Whanganui, Pakawau, Ruataniwha and Parapara Inlets and Farewell spit.

The only substantial archaeological work done in the area was by the Canterbury Museum around the mouth of the Heaphy in 1962-63. They excavated a small village dating from about 1380 AD which showed the occupants hunting moa, fur seal and Polynesian dog. Another site at the base of Farewell spit shows evidence of the abundant food resources of water fowl, fish, shellfish and marine mammals.

Evidence shows that by 1600 AD, Ngati Tumatakokiri held much of the Northwest until the arrival of the Ngai Tahu on the West Coast and Ngati Apa in Tasman and Golden Bay about 1800. Ngai Tahu defeated the Ngati Tumatakokiri controlling the Buller region and Ngati Apa defeated them in the Nelson Bays (NWSI Investigation 1993: 33).

### 1.2.2 Post-European History

The first European visitors to the area were Australian sealing gangs with seasonal camps at Toropuhi and Kahurangi between 1803 and 1820s. The settlement of Nelson in 1841 to 1842, the increased use of the natural resources increased. The first resource to be exploited was coal from the Whanganui Inlet from 1836-40 for shipments to Port Nicholson. However, the discovery of gold in the tributaries of the Aorere in 1856 saw the area become New Zealand's first official goldfield and the start of 50 years of mining in the region. Goldmining was the main result for the development of settlements and the exploration and opening up of the rugged interior of the Northwest with established tracks and routes.

Many of the present recreational tracks were first developed by goldminers and graziers. The Wangapeka and Heaphy tracks were upgraded by the Government as pack tracks between 1888 and 1899 to provide links with the Karamea settlement established in 1875. The Flora track was created as stock routes to graze the tablelands and the Cobb.

Commercial logging and milling of native timber has been carried out in the area since the 1840s. The early gazettals of State Forests in the area were in 1917. Logging took place in the Wakamarma Range in the north, between 1926 and 1967 and 4,500 hectares on the Taitapu Estate in the west, before the purchase by the New Zealand Forest Service in 1986. In the south-west, at Karamea, logging began much later and continued at about 75 hectares per annum until 1986.

## 1.3 Research Objectives

This thesis has four main objectives:

**The first objective is to show how growth in scenic preservation throughout time has created a platform whereby the creation of Kahurangi National Park became possible.**



In order to assess the environmental debate regarding Kahurangi it is necessary to look at perceptions of the environment throughout time. These changing perceptions heralded the growth of groups and individuals calling for national parks.

**The second objective looks at who was involved in the conflict of interests regarding Kahurangi.**

This seeks to identify the different environmental values between the participants of the Kahurangi debate.

**The third objective aims at analysis of the public policy process and its effect on the debate.**

How the participants within the debate manifested themselves in, and altered, the public policy process.

**The fourth objective looks at the impact of the park one year after its creation.**

Looking at the effects the park's creation has had on the park and the surrounding region. During the debate many statements were made regarding the effects of the park on the region after its creation. What this objective seeks to do is test the validity of such statements.

## **1.4 Thesis Structure**

The structure of this thesis provides the means through which the first objective (the analytical framework) hopes to lay the platform as to how it was possible that the Kahurangi area became eligible for national park status. This thesis is comprised of seven chapters including an introductory chapter (chapter one) and a concluding

chapter (chapter seven). Chapter two and three are differentiated by scale from a broad discussion of the growth of landscape preservation overseas to specifically New Zealand's national park evolution. Chapter four and five looks at the Kahurangi debate during the investigation process and outcome, and Chapter six looks at the impact of the park both economically and socially, one year after its creation.

Chapter Two looks at how the natural landscape has been treated as a commodity throughout time. The national park ideal was not a benevolent gesture to protect the environment, but expression of a desire from a group within society to visit and appreciate the natural 'wonders' of their country. Preservation is just another way people exploit the landscape for their own needs and desires.

Chapter Three looks at the changes that have been occurring in New Zealand in the last fifty years whereby many new diverse landscapes became eligible for national park status. Both social and economic changes have seen the creation of national parks in areas once used or designated for economic purposes.

In Chapter Four the conflict of interests regarding Kahurangi National Park is investigated. This chapter explores the differences in environmental values between the participants and why they hold them.

Chapter Five seeks to examine how the respective values of the participants in the Kahurangi debate manifested themselves in, and altered, the policy process and the policy outcome. For as Henning (quoted in Scott, 1989: 82) observes "Decision affecting environmental policies grow out of a political process. This process involves the values of individuals, groups and organisations in the struggle for power through human interaction relative to the decision" The underlying notion of scale once again is discussed relating to policy at the local and also national level.

Chapter six analyses the impact that the park has had both economically and socially. This looks at the predictions made during the conflict regarding the effects that the park would have on the surrounding region.

## 1.5 Methodology

In looking at methodologies there "are no rigid rules that can be provided for making data collection and methods decisions in evaluation. "The art of evaluation involves creating a design and gathering information that is appropriate for a specific situation and particular policy making context. In art there is no single, ideal standard" (Patton 1987: 9). Therefore the design of the fieldwork was that of an interplay of methodological resources which seeks to best attain the information relating to each objective (Fig 1.3).

While most people have an opinion regarding the creation of Kahurangi National Park, the decision making process and the impact of the park after its creation it is very difficult to talk to everyone about it. Therefore, interviews were conducted with individuals and groups holding prominent views within the debate and at different levels of the policy process: from decision makers (eg government ministers) to interest groups (eg The Maruia Society) to affected parties (tourism operators) (Appendix A). These interviews provided the key evidence for discussion regarding Kahurangi investigation. An open ended survey was used and adapted to the person interviewed (Appendix B). While a comparison of answers can be made it was flexible enough to enable questioning relevant to all those interviewed from parliamentarians to shopkeepers. The questions were asked rather than a questionnaire being filled out. The reason for this is that this method best showed levels of emotion, thoughts and perceptions.

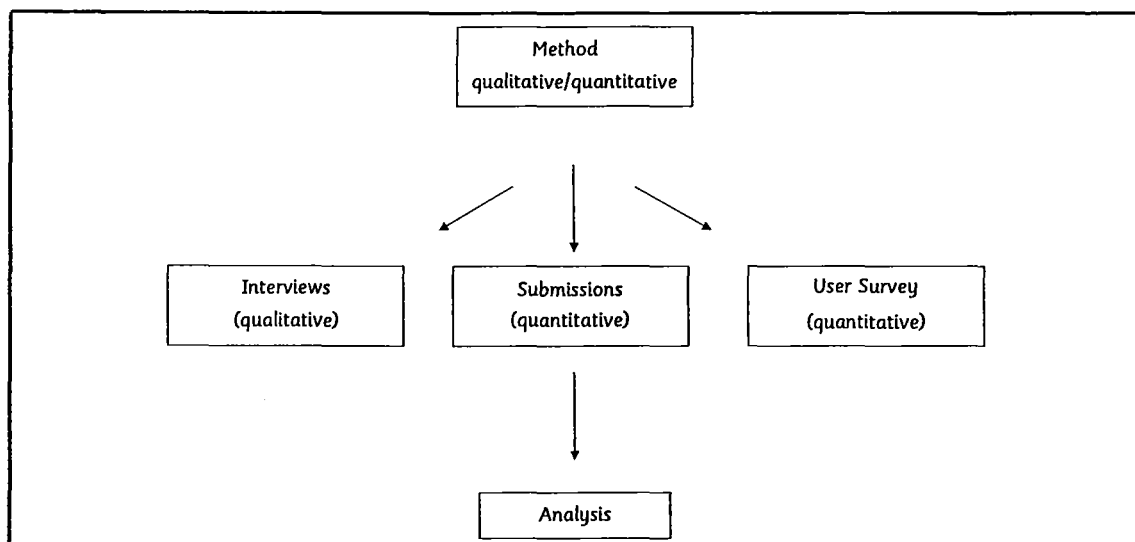


Fig 1.3 Methodology.

While talking to the general public on a large scale may have been difficult the submissions process during the investigation gave the general public a chance to express their views. The compilation and summation of their submissions was made by DoC however, they only provided generalisations. During the fieldwork period access to these submissions was made available to analyse individual submissions. Also used were the two DoC investigation reports published in 1992 and 1993 detailing the investigation.

In looking at the impacts of the park on park users, a survey was undertaken at various exit points around the park (Appendix C). This attempted to look at how the park has effected individual users and also what they expect of this new national park. A series of questions was asked to each user and was written down by the author to prevent simple yes and no answers.

Therefore the intention behind this methodology is to look at the many perceptions held regarding the park from a number of sources; interviews, submissions and surveys (Fig 1.3) in order to meet the research objectives specified above.

## Chapter Two

# The evolution of the environment as a commodity

### 2.1 Introduction

The key issue in this chapter is how the natural landscape has been treated as a commodity throughout time. The notion of dominion over nature has created a system where everything is valued in relation to its use to people. This notion is reinforced within all facets of society, being present in religion, science and mode of production. The preservation of the landscape must be seen not as a benevolent act of protecting the environment for its own sake, but for human desires and needs.

The late nineteenth century saw the creation of the national park ideal. Both in the United States and New Zealand a small group of people pioneered a particular ideal - that the natural wonders of their country should be preserved "for all people for all time" (Runte 1979: 1). The creation of national parks was brought about due to a growing desire from the 'public' to visit and appreciate the natural wonders of the world. However, national parks only served a small percentage of the population. These were people of wealth and education that had the time and money to appreciate natural wonders. Therefore this chapter looks at why national parks were created and who was behind them.

### 2.2 Dominion over Nature

The notion of dominion over nature is something which moulds human interaction with the environment. However, the roots of this concept are difficult to isolate. While it does look to be based around people's desire to 'design' the landscape that surrounds them, why they do this is subject to debate. In 1967 Lynn White laid the blame at the door of a particular interpretation of Judeo-Christian texts. The argument used was that the Bible had encouraged a perception of the earth for the use of people (Fig 2.1). The creation myths of Genesis best exemplify this stating (in one translation) that "then God

said 'Let us make man in our image and likeness to rule the fish in the sea, the birds of heaven, the cattle, all wild animals on the earth, and all reptiles that crawl upon the earth" (Genesis 1:2).

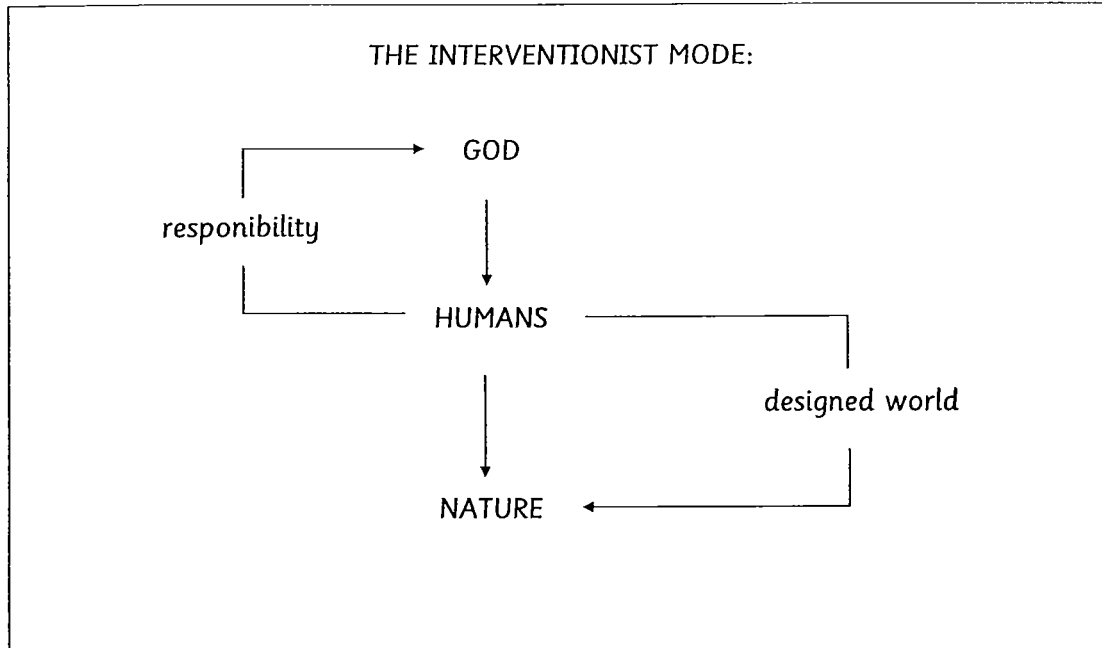


Fig 2.1 Relationship to nature, that of Dominion (O'Riordon 1989: 82).

Also in 1967 Clarence Glacken published his work Traces on the Rhodian Shore which examined the same arguments as White had and traced their roots to ancient Roman and Greek writing. Classical beliefs regarding the landscape were best exemplified by the great philosophers of the time, who contrasted the natural and cultural landscape. As Cicero states in De Natura Deorum "think of all the various species of animals, both tame and wild! think of the flights and songs of birds! of pastures filled with cattle, and the teaming life of the woodlands! Then why I speak of the race of men? who are as it were appointed tillers of the soil, and who suffer it not to become a savage haunt of monstrous beasts of prey nor a barren waste of thickets and brambles, and whose industry diversifies and adorns the lands and islands and coasts with houses and cities. Could we not but behold these things with our eyes as we can picture them in our minds, no one taking in the whole earth at one view could doubt divine reason" (Glacken 1967: 234).

Knill (1991) states that science was also moulded to support human dominion over nature. "Darwin's survival of the fittest, Newton's irreducible atom, and Linnaeus'

taxonomic categorization all provided the authoritative voice of science. The predictive power and universal applicability of the Newtonian model led to its virtual institutionalisation in Western science, embraced as a working picture of nature by effectively all European intellectuals. Nature became a machine" (1991: 54). While it is not certain that these religious and scientific ideas either created the notion of dominion or merely gave basic human instincts credence and justification, the result was nature being perceived as without intrinsic worth. Its value to people was as a commodity.

### 2.2.1 Reflection of Values

It was these ideas that rested in the minds of nineteenth century Americans and New Zealanders carving a civilisation out of the 'new' and hostile world. As Brooking writes "late nineteenth-century New Zealanders were not especially avid church attenders, but they belonged to one of the most literate societies on earth, and knew their scriptures". Most knew the creation story and accepted that allowing good fertile land to lie in waste was a 'sin' (1996: 83). The term 'waste' meant areas of non-productive land, such as forests and swamps not in the service of society or involved in their production. "When Victorians spoke of a 'wilderness' they meant not a barren waste, but a dense, uncultivated wood, like Shakespeare's Forest of Arden, 'a desert inaccessible under the shade of melancholy boughs" (Thomas 1983: 195).

Therefore bringing land under the control of people was seen as bringing 'progress' to the inhabitants. As one New Zealand member of parliament stated "contrast those 'hives' of industry Dunedin and Christchurch [to] the 'Sleepy Hollow' of Nelson to their respective locations on 'grass covered plains' and amid 'almost interminable forests'..." [All that] the province of Nelson requires to elevate its port to the prosperity of Lyttleton, he asserted, was the destruction of its forests so that its waste land may become fitted for settlement" (Wynn 1977: 132)

In New England, Plymouth colony was founded in, as one settler described a "hideous and desolate wilderness.... full of wild beasts and wild men.... and the whole country full of woods and thickets". The colonists were shocked at the sight of the countryside and set about destroying trees to make it "habitable" (Thomas 1983: 194). The main

point that needs to be emphasised is that land not used for European social or economic activities was seen as waste. Therefore areas of land would not be preserved in modified form unless there was a reason for it.

One must realise that this perception of nature is purely a European construct. Other cultures had very different ways of perceiving the environment. Two examples of this are the indigenous Aboriginal and Inuit populations. The Aborigines were linked to nature by their stories of creation. According to Aboriginal belief, "all life as it is known today, human, animal, plant, bird, and fish, is part of one unchanging interconnected system, one vast network of relationships which can be traced to the great spirit ancestors of the creation period" (Isacc 1980: 33).

The Inuit have a world view which involves souls, spirits and gods all impacting on everyday life. They have a strong belief in souls being present everywhere. Animals, as well as humans, have souls in the view of all Inuit groups. Also a prevalent theme in legends is the environment they live in must be preserved in order for their life to continue (Merker 1991: 3).

### **2.2.2 Why Preserve Landscape?**

In light of such European views, there appears to be little historic and practical justification for the national park idea. However, the creation myths which were read one way, that of dominion, could also be read in another, that of stewardship. The notion of stewardship was just as anthropocentrically based as that of dominion. Nevertheless, the central facet to stewardship is that people are seen as 'caretakers' of the environment (Attfield 1991). "The Lord God took men and put him in the garden of Eden to dress it and to keep it" (Genesis 2:15). The idea of stewardship gave the theological justification for the preservation of the landscape and this enabled some groups to exploit it for their own use (Fig 2.2).

The purpose of the 'caretaker' notion was not the benevolent protection of the environment but, a reaction to the need to protect the environment for the benefit of some groups of people. The environment was still seen as a commodity but its value for certain activities required preservation (Cosgrove 1984). In medieval Britain the



preservation of some areas of woodland was brought about by a small ruling elite. "A lord seeing that the growth of hunting activities would lead to such a reduction of game that it would detract from his pleasure, used his political power to set aside a domain where only he and his friends could hunt. The result was an abundance of game which contrasted to those neighbouring zones where game was either exterminated or emigrated to the reserved area" (Thomas 1983: 23). Therefore initial preservation came about simply to preserve privileged human pursuits. The key point is that for some people this preservation could not be appreciated (Glacken 1967). The poor were not allowed access for fuel and food and therefore would not have seen this stewardship as a good thing. The legend of Robin Hood poaching the deer in Sherwood forest is one reaction to this early conservation.

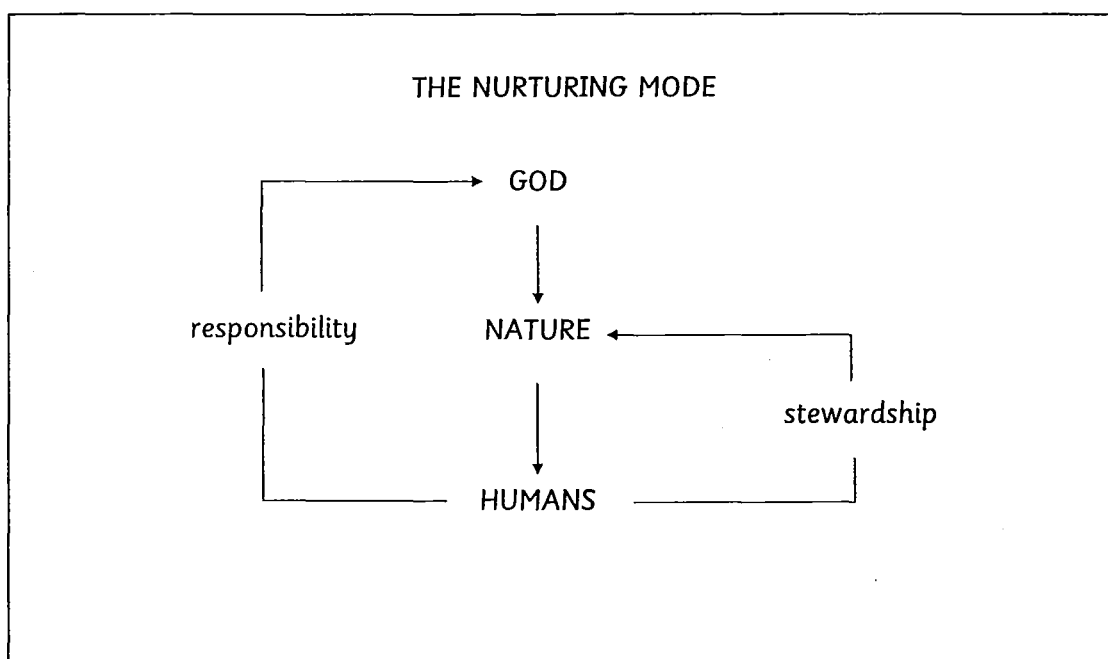


Fig 2.2 Relationship to nature that of Stewardship (O'Riordon 1989: 82).

The growth of towns and cities provided another example of preservation being used as a commodity to solve the problems of urbanisation and industrialization. In the nineteenth century the city park was seen as a solution to social ills and was justified using the terms 'public interest' and 'common good'. "In Renaissance times the city had been synonymous with civility, the country with rusticity and boorishness. To bring men out of the forests and to contain them in a city was to civilise them...When men thought of heaven they usually envisaged it as a city, a new Jerusalem" (Thomas 1983: 243). Yet by 1800 the city had taken on less redeeming qualities as Timothy Nourse wrote of London "Twere endless to reckon up all the mischiefs which houses suffer

hereby, in their furniture, their plate, their brass and pewter, their glass... A bed of fourscore or one hundred pounds price, after a dozen years or so, must be laid aside as sullied by the smoke... The vast number of coal-dust carts trotting up and down the town, perpetually scatter very liberally of their precious cargo in the streets ... from whence it is, that the complexions of men, and women too if they do not wash their and daub, are soon tarnished and become sooty" (Thomas 1983: 245).

As a reaction to the growing pollution Runte states that "In Great Britain, Victoria Park, created within the crowded East End in 1842, was the first reserve not only managed but created, for public good". As one admirer of this egalitarian recreation movement, American Frederick Law Olmsted, commented, the parks are "entirely, unreservedly, and for ever, the people's own. The poorest British peasant is free to enjoy it in all its parts as the British queen.... Is it not," he concluded "a grand, good thing" (Runte 1979: 3). I would disagree with this idea and argue that there is no public only publics and that the park ideal served only certain groups of people.

The example of New York City's Central Park shows how its creation was used for social and economic manipulation, by certain groups rather than for the 'common' good. In using the city parks example the aim is to show how social manipulation is used through the idea of preservation. The scheme of having a large park in New York was the idea of the gentlemen of the city. The new waves of immigration, concentrating people in crowded tenements had worried wealthy New Yorkers. They were concerned about the conditions of inequality which fostered social disorder. "In the 1830s and 1840s health reformers in England, proclaimed that parks would serve as 'lungs for the city', had launched campaigns for new public grounds as an antidote to the ills of industrial society" (Rosenzweig & Blackmar 1992: 24). New York politicians also repeatedly used this phrase, urging the health benefits of a park. While other measures, such as better housing and sanitation, would have more directly addressed health problems but a public park was a much cheaper option. Economically the land in the proposed city park was "entirely useless for building purposes, by having a very uneven and rocky surface, and also to its lying so far below the proper grade of the streets as to render the grading very costly" (Rosenzweig & Blackmar 1992: 45).

When the park was created it was used by only a small fraction of the public its

proponents claimed it would serve. For the working class population little money, long working hours, few holidays and many children stopped most from using the park (Rosenzweig & Blackmar 1992: 233). The park became the domain of the middle class who used it as a focal point of outdoor genteel society. Therefore while city fathers could claim that the park was free to be enjoyed by the populace to pursue 'healthy and vigorous' activities the reality was very different.

The 'ideal' of 'public good' is further illustrated in America with the history of the Niagara Falls and its commercialization. It was these waterfalls, recognized both at home and abroad as the nation's most magnificent natural spectacle, that fell victim to "insults of so-called sharpsters and hucksters of every kind". Private developers seeking to 'cash in' on this natural wonder had, by 1860, placed fences and gatehouses around the falls, charging to view the sites. Two visiting English clergy stated that "Surely some universal voice ought to interfere and prevent the money seekers" and that "such spots should be deemed the property of civilised mankind" (in Runte 1979: 6). In America for the first time a natural spectacle drew significant crowds of tourists. Private developers had succeeded in taking advantage of this and gaining profit. Like the city park many people claimed that these natural wonders should be protected from private ownership for the 'public good'. Yet 'public' ownership would serve two groups in particular and they were the most voracious in calling for public ownership. The first was the predominant upper and middle class tourist who resented paying to watch one of the nation's wonders. The second was groups of politicians, at federal and state level, realising that the landscape in its 'natural' form had economic potential, in the form of tourism and if they could control them they would gain the profit. It is these ideas which are important when in 1872 the first National Park in America is created.

## 2.3 The Catalysts for National Parks

It was monumental scenery that first drove the national parks ideal with "cliffs and waterfalls thousands of feet high, canyons a mile deep, and soaring mountains and trees which stretched to the heavens" (in Runte 1979: 11). Runte describes America's incentive for the national park idea lay in the persistence of a painfully felt desire for tradition and culture in the United States. "For decades the nation had suffered the

embarrassment of a dearth of recognised cultural achievements. Unlike established, European countries, which traced their origins far back into antiquity, the United States, lacked a long artistic and literary heritage. The absence of reminders of the human past, including castles, ancient ruins, and cathedrals on the landscape, further alienated American intellectuals from a cultural identity" (Runte 1979: 11).

In the second half of the nineteenth century the creation of the national park was designed to serve the elite of American society - nationalism through natural landscape. Among the more articulate spokesmen for the national park movement was Samuel Bowles, editor and publisher of the Springfield Republican. Well educated, wealthy and socially respected, Bowles typified the class of gentlemen adventurers and explorers who presented the national park ideal during the second half of the nineteenth century (Runte 1979: 12).

In America most national parks were created in the large holdings of federal land in the West whereas the bulk of the population was centered on the east coast. This meant the time and cost of going there precluded the majority of the population. "A poor man may appreciate natural beauty as much as a rich man, in the sense that he derives as much satisfaction from it. But in the subjective hierarchy of wants common to both men, access to landscape ranks behind wants for food, shelter..." (Hirsch 1976: 32). What Hirsch means is that while most Americans would appreciate the national park ideal they could not experience it because of their circumstances. Trapped within one of the growing eastern cities most Americans were constrained both spatially, due to the expense of travel, and temporally because of the long working hours.

Yet the preservationists tried to give justification for national parks as serving the 'public'. One supporter of the national park movement was Robert Bradford Marshall, chief topographer of the US Geological Survey, who speaking in New York in 1911 stated the benefits of national parks. "The rapid development of cities and the increasing proportion of urban inhabitants has been unforeseen". As urban areas become more and more congested the physical status of boys and men will deteriorate and will continue to deteriorate. Hanging from the straps of crowded [street] cars working men forget they have legs. What was the prescription for restoring their physical vitality? Give them national parks, places where they can go every year or so

and forget something of the rush and jam and scramble of the modern life" (Runte 1979: 96).

Work done by Lisa Bloom, a feminist geographer, described how national parks were one instrument of masculinity propounded by intellectuals during the nineteenth century. Theodore Roosevelt observed in an 1899 men's club speech that confronting wilderness revitalises "that vigorous manliness for the lack of which in a nation, as in an individual, the possession of no other qualities can possibly atone". Cities he went on to state "forced a large proportion of our robust, manly, self-reliant boyhood into a lot of flat-chested, cigarette smokers, with shaky nerves and doubtful vitality" (Bloom 1995: 8).

Nationalism and masculinity were ideas America's elite used to justify the creation of 'national' parks. However, this justification for the creation of national parks was not enough to persuade the government to create them (Cosgrove 1984). It was the potential of tourism that was seen as providing a solid economic justification for their creation. In advertising the American West the New York Herald in 1872 wrote "Why should we go to Switzerland to see mountains or to Iceland for geysers? Thirty years ago the attraction of America to the foreign mind was Niagara Falls. Now we have attractions which diminish Niagara into an ordinary exhibition" (in Runte 1979: 11). Unlike Niagara Falls which fell into private hands the land designated for national parks was government-owned and therefore the federal government and their backers stood to gain the benefits of its tourism potential.

Therefore the philosophical and economic justifications were moulded together creating a powerful argument. "See Europe if You Will, but see America first" states the Soo railroad brochure in 1910. John Muir, an explorer and preservationist, talked of the miracle of the national park and its effects. "Thousands of tired, nerve-shaken, over-civilised people," he had written, "are beginning to find out that going to the mountains is going home, that wilderness is a necessity, and that mountain parks and reservations are useful not only as fountains of timber and irrigating rivers, but as fountains of life" (in Runte 1979: 82). "Two hundred million dollars of the good money of the people of the United States are paid out annually by Americans who visit the mountains of Switzerland and other parts of Europe," asserted Senator Thomas Carter. "We receive

comparatively nothing for our scenery," congressman Edward Taylor elaborate, "while Switzerland derives from \$10,000 to \$40,000 per square mile per year from scenery that is not equal to ours. But Switzerland knows that the public is ready and willing to pay for scenery, and they have developed it for selling purposes" (in Runte 1979: 95).

This reasoning went some way towards providing a rationale for preserving areas over other economic activities such as mining or agriculture. The other factor was that because the scenery that people admired was usually defined as 'rugged' with features such as mountains, waterfalls and geysers, the land was marginal for production such as farming, forestry and mining. While farming could have gone ahead in the Yellowstone area for example, it would not have been very profitable due to the high altitude. National parks therefore was seen as a better option for these marginal areas. The next five examples seek to show how the creation of national parks was a consequence of these three factors: (1) tourism as the prerequisite for providing national parks with a solid economic justification for their existence, (2) the lack of other economic options for the areas in question and (3) the power of the backers of the individual schemes.

### **2.3.1 Yellowstone & Yosemite**

From 1869 various expeditions explored the Yellowstone region and brought back stories of natural wonders to humble those in Europe. One explorer Langford, marvelled at the Yellowstone river and its spectacular upper and lower falls. "A grander scene than the lower cataract of the Yellowstone was never witnessed by mortal eyes", Langford stated. "It is a sheer, compact, solid, perpendicular sheet, faultless in all the elements of grandeur and picturesque beauties" (in Runte 1979: 37). After this description Congress contributed \$40,000 for another expedition that would provide more detailed evidence of the natural wonders. There was enormous pressure exerted by preservationists, on hearing the stories about the region, on politicians claiming the benefits the government would gain in protection this land. The preservationists found an ally in the Northern Pacific Railroad Company which also contributed to the expedition's funds. The geography of Yellowstone meant that because of its isolation Northern Pacific stood to gain by being the sole beneficiary of the tourist traffic. The proposed park was situated at high altitude with little development around the area. The Northern Pacific Company at the time of the parks creation were building a railway

across America and sought to have an attraction which encouraged people to travel.

The proponents of the park had rallied the support of the Republican party. In the face of opposition, from the Democratic party, the bill to create Yellowstone was defended in the Senate by Senator Trumbull of Illinois, stating: "Here is a region of country away up in the Rocky Mountains, where there are the most wonderful geysers on the face of the earth; a country that is not likely ever to be inhabited for the purposes of agriculture; but it is possible that some person may go there and plant himself right across the only path that leads to these wonders and charge every man that passes along between the gorges of these mountains a fee... He may place an obstruction there and toll may be gathered from every person who goes to see these wonders... Now, before there is any dispute as to this wonderful country, I hope we shall exempt it from the general disposition of the public lands and reserve it to the Government" (in Harris 1974: 26).

In the same speech Trumbull provides a tourism promotion for the place and its major supporter. The reason for this was the close cooperation between government and private enterprise to develop the American West. "When by means of the Northern Pacific Railroad, the falls of the Yellowstone and the geysers basin are rendered easy of access, probably no portion of America will be more popular as a watering-place or a summer resort" (in Runte 1979: 33). Like Central Park in New York it is not surprising that those best suited to taking advantage of this summer resort were the middle and upper class precisely those who petitioned the Republican party to back the park idea. Coupled with government and railroad support the bill was promptly signed by President Grant on March 1 1872. Yellowstone was the first national park in the world and set a precedent for preserving areas around the world.

Yosemite National Park was another example of a spectacular natural attraction being preserved (Fig 2.3). In 1863 a member of the California Geological Survey described the Yosemite falls as the "crowning glory" of the entire valley" with them "coming over the wall on the far side of the valley and dropping 1,542 feet the first leap, then falls 1,100 more in two or three more cascades, the entire height being over 2,600 feet! I question if the world furnishes a parallel" (in Harris 1974: 23). When this park was proposed for national park status the placement of its boundaries was on strictly scenic criteria. Only the Yosemite valley and its surrounding peaks were included, an area of

just 40 miles. As Runte states such limitations ignored the ecological framework of the region, especially its watersheds; indeed, the term ecology was not even known" (in Runte 1979: 29). This last statement however, must be qualified because some advocates of national parks, such as John Muir (founder of the Sierra Club) realised the importance of protecting an ecosystem rather than the scenic attraction. Nevertheless these people were in the minority and at this time only protection of scenic wonders was socially acceptable.

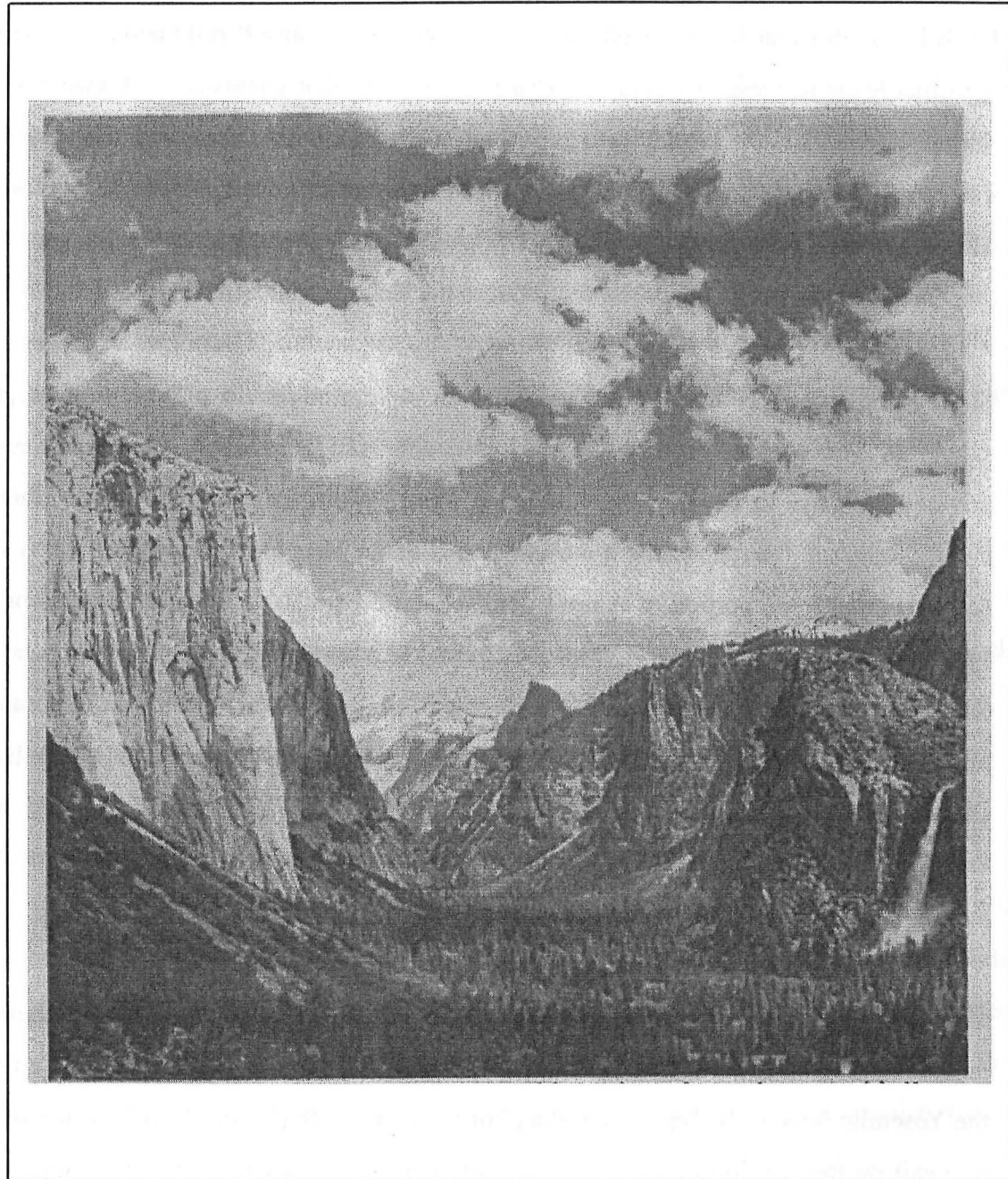


Fig 2.3 The Yosemite Valley, "the sheer cliffs and waterfalls of Yosemite Valley epitomize the notion of monumentalism" that lay behind the creation of national parks (in Runte 1979: 17).



And it was this park which gained the first legal protection (even before Yellowstone) in becoming a State Park (California), the State being required "to hold the lands for public use resort and recreation, inalienable for all time". John Connes, a member for the Senate stated, regarding the bill for Yosemite, that the area is "for all public purposes worthless, but which constitute, perhaps one of the greatest wonders of the world" (in Runte 1979: 48). The justification that the land was worthless was targeted to placate farmers, miners and other groups who wanted further development options left open. Yosemite provides a fantastic example of the power of the supporters of the park. Debate raged before the parks creation between those advocating a national park and those for another development option. The other development proposal was to dam the valley turning it into a reservoir thereby destroying the scenery. The Sierra Club was a preservation society dedicated to national park status however, it only had a membership of around 5000 people yet it was made up of "the wealthy and powerful". Their influence and power was sufficient to offset the 500,000 constituents of San Francisco that demanded fresh water (Runte 1979: 49) that the dam would provide.

### **2.3.2 Tongariro, Mt Cook and Arthurs Pass**

The early national park ideal in New Zealand was also based on the preserving areas in the name of the 'public'. Like America, New Zealand was young country with little cultural artefacts and nationalism through natural landscape was enthusiastically adopted. In 1887 Chief Te Heuheu gifted the core of the land which came to make up Tongariro National Park. John McKenzie, the Minister of Lands at that time, was easily persuaded that no better use could be found for an area that was clearly 'waste' and therefore unable to be used for farming or mining. "Unlike some settler politicians, he did not consider the purchase an unnecessary extravagance and withheld his usual disapproval of allowing areas to lie undeveloped. On the contrary, he argued that nationally important scenery should not be allowed to fall into private hands and urged state protection of wildlife, vegetation and spectacular natural features" (Brooking 1996: 179). McKenzie was also interested in the possibility of tourism for the area and he suggested that the government could beautify the park by planting exotic species and the introduction of deer to attract people to the park (Brooking 1996: 180). As with early American national parks, the boundaries of Tongariro were arbitrary, and did not initially include any bush. No part of it was below 3,500feet (Fig 2.4).

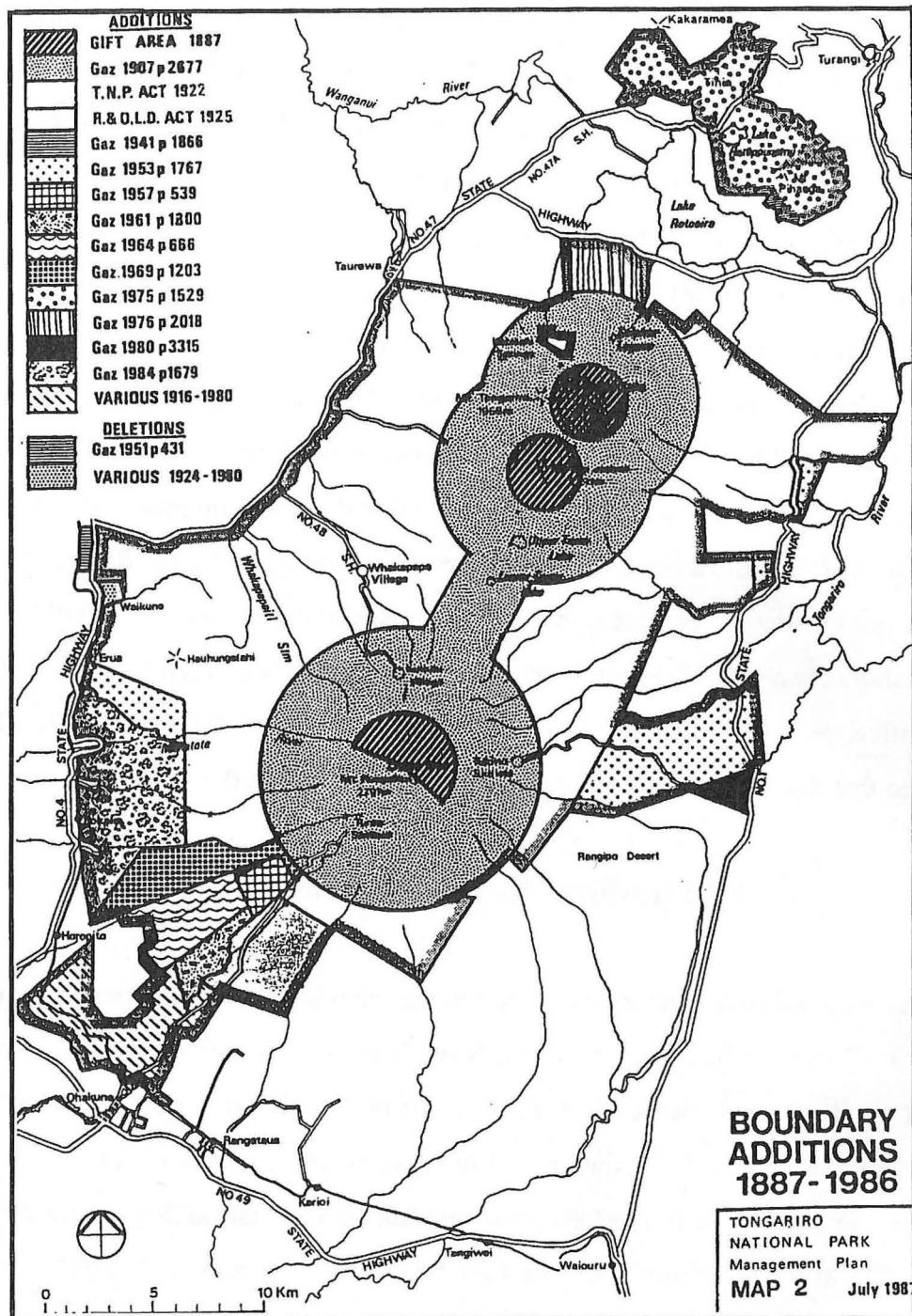


Fig 2.4 Tongariro National Park: boundary additions 1887-1986 (in Kirby 1997: 87).

Also like the American situation those advocating the creation of national parks were very few in number. The creation of Arthurs Pass National Park, states Harris, was "owed primarily to the influence of one man - the noted Christchurch horticulturist Leonard Cockayne" (Harris 1974: 146). He set up the Christchurch Beautifying Association in 1887 dedicated to persuading the government to protect areas of fine New Zealand scenery. Like America, those advocating national parks praised the benefits in relation to the nations virtue. The park's Handbook stated that "national

parks have in recent years come to play a very important part in the life of the people as playgrounds where they may find some respite from the artificiality and turmoil of city life, and recreate in body and soul" (Odell 1935: 17). The Minister of Lands at the time encouraged the creation of the parks praising "good health and physical fitness... should be the foundation of a good life, besides making the individual profitable to the nation" (in Buchanan 1978: 20).

"Despite the protestation of common good the national park campaign never involved more than Cockayne, a couple of Parliamentarians - an influential cross-section of locals possessing 'weight' in the decision-making process but a tiny group nonetheless" (Harris 1974: 150). The aid of the Christchurch population was "neither needed nor called upon and in any case Arthurs Pass still seemed distant and irrelevant as far as the ordinary man was concerned" (Harris 1974: 151). Tourism was seen as economic justification however, this was purely an investment in the future, "in a time when the friction of time, cost, and space would be much lessened and when the middle and long distance travel along the main roads would be commonplace for all" (Harris 1974: 150). In 1923 the trans-alpine railway was completed and this greatly improved access to the area for tourists, sightseeing and recreational traffic. With Canterbury's elite now having access to the area the call grew for national park status. This occurred in 1929.

Recreational use of these parks was extremely limited during the early history of New Zealand. The Heritage Lodge near Mt Cook was a population destination however, even here the numbers were very small (Pearce 1980). In 1897/98, there were only 105 guests at the hotel and 23 camping parties in the area. In 1906 the number of Hermitage guests has risen to 185, but by 1914 the figure was still only 539. During this period the Milford track, in Fiordland, was gaining its reputation as "the finest walk in the world", yet only 275 walked the track in 1904, rising to 489 in 1909 (Moran 1979). Even Mt Egmont, close to the town of New Plymouth, which was connected to the national capital of Wellington by rail in 1885, was not very popular. While some of these dates were before the creation of parks in the area, the numbers show that only a small group of people visited these scenic wonders.

### 2.3.3 Management

Hardly any effort was made regarding funding, both in America and New Zealand. In the case of Yellowstone the area was virtually left untouched for five years after its creation and when funding finally was approved it was inadequate for protection of the area (Runte 1979: 54). For Tongariro it also took seven years for parliament to act on the gift and the Board of Trustees did not meet for twenty years after the park's establishment. Not until 1922 was the area below the snow line to be included within the park (Brooking 1996: 179). National parks were the 'playgrounds' for the elite and therefore development and facilities were created for their pleasure.

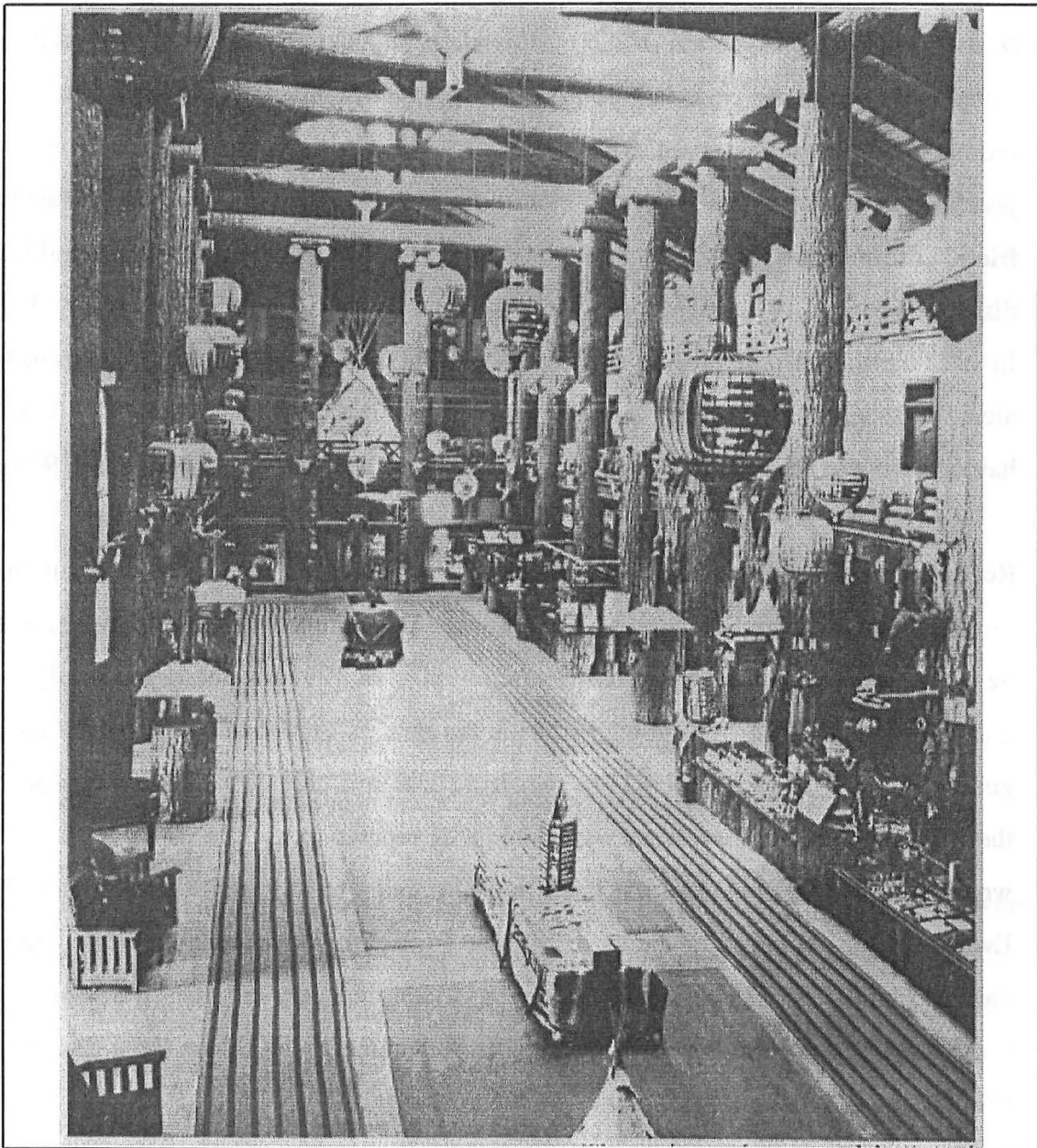


Fig 2.5 The splendour of Glacier Park Lodge, opened by the Great Northern Railway (in Runte 1979: 88).

Legislation reflected this with no regulations hindering the development of roads and accommodation. Yellowstone up until the 1930s had a prominent rubbish dump that attracted grizzly bears that came to feed on the waste and this was a major attraction with large numbers of people viewing the display. While this exploitation today would be seen as inappropriate for a national park environmental values at that time did not extend to the protection of the ecological integrity of the flora and fauna. National parks reflect the values of the society at a particular time and these, throughout the twentieth century have been continually changing.

## 2.4 New Landscape Consumers

Up until the Second World War those able to experience national parks were few in number. The change towards a greater participation in the landscape from a larger number of people came with the massive economic and social changes after World War II. Unprecedented economic growth through the early decades after the war flooded the general population with consumer goods designed to make life 'easier'. The telephone, the car, indoor plumbing, electric household appliances all were designed for saving time. For an increasing share of the population, these wants had been filled; "discretionary income could now be spent for other goods and services beyond necessities and conveniences". The search for environmental quality was an integral part of this rising standard of living. Environment quality took the form of a greater appreciation of the landscape therefore as a commodity the environment was appreciated to a greater extent by a growing proportion of the population. (Hays 1987: 34).

Eckersley states that the growth of landscape protection to a new level is the predominantly a result of a new middle-class composition of the preservationists (1989: 205). She argues that "conditions of peace, economic security and unparalleled affluence that were experienced by those who were part of the postwar baby boom in advanced western countries has led this privileged and sizable cohort to place higher priority in their adult life on environmental values" (Eckersley 1989: 215).

One of the greatest manifestations of consumption in search of environmental quality was the growth of private transport and suburbanisation. People rushed to the suburbs seeking more space away from the crowded and polluted city. "In the 1960s and 1970s the market for vacation homesites boomed, newspaper advertisements abounded with phrases that signalled the important values: 'by sparkling stream, abundant wildlife, near the edge of the forest road'" (Hays 1987: 22). Tourism relating to the environment also increased and the value of preservation in the nineteenth and early twentieth century became apparent for a wider group. The postwar travel surge was unprecedented and by 1955 some of America's national parks attracted huge numbers of visitors. Examples of this were in the same year the number of people visiting major parks: Yosemite (1,408,000), Grand Teton (1,063,000), Yellowstone (1,408,000), Rocky Mountain (1,511,000), Shenandoah (1,760,000) and Great Smoky Mountains (2,678,000) (Runte 1979: 171).

The growth of environmental values was reflected in the number of New Zealand's national parks' doubling in the 1950s. The pressure from the 'new' middle class fuelled the growth of park creation. This could be seen in changing legislation. In 1952 the National Parks Act for the first time wrote into law a process for an integrated system of parks. This meant that proposed parks after this date could be compared to criteria regarding their suitability for national park status. This was in contrast to previous parks created by a few influential people concerned with one particular area they wanted protected. With this system in place the 1950's saw the number of parks go from four in 1952 to ten by 1964 under the pressure of the public for National Parks in the country's recreational "playgrounds" (NZ Yearbook 1952: 321).

The type of park was also changing as knowledge about the environment increased. An ecological perspective grew from the popularisation of knowledge about natural processes. "It was the idea that everything in the environment is one link in a chain and that to destroy or alter one link it will result in flow on effects throughout the rest of the chain" (Hays 1987: 28). This resulted in preservationists calling for the protection of a wider number of landscapes.

### 2.4.1 Changing Views?

O'Riordon identifies, in the 1970s, two fundamentally different attitudes towards the environment. "The technocentric view is hierarchical, manipulative, and managerial. The ecocentric view by contrast, embraces community scale, natural rhythms, and a morality based on ecological principles" (O'Riordon 1989: 7). The ecocentric view has developed and is reflected in the creation of environmental groups. The main point is ecocentrics only represent a fraction of the population dedicated to the total preservation of the environment. Most people hold very superficial environmental values (discussed in the next section) and only a small percentage support radical environmental change (Fig 2.6). Comparison of these views with those described in Fig 2.1 and 2.2 show little change since the nineteenth century. Environmentalists can be compared to professing stewardship described in Fig 2.2 and technocentrics profess dominion over nature (Fig 2.1).

VARIATIONS OF THE BASIC THEMES:			
ECOCENTRISTS		TECHNOCENTRICS	
DEEP ENVIRONMENTALISTS	SOFT TECHNOLOGISTS	ACCOMMODATORS	CORNUCOPIANS
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>* Lack faith in modern, large-scale technology and its need for elitist expertise, central authority, and inherently undemocratic institutions.</li> <li>* Believe that materialism for its own sake is wrong and that economic growth can be geared to provide for the basic needs of those below subsistence levels.</li> <li>* Recognise the intrinsic importance of nature to being fully human.</li> <li>* Believe that ecological (and other natural) laws determine morality.</li> <li>* Accept the right of endangered species or unique landscapes to remain unmolested.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>* Emphasize small scale (and hence community identity) in settlement, work, and leisure.</li> <li>* Attempt to integrate work and leisure through a process of personal and communal improvement.</li> <li>* Stress participation in community affairs and the rights of minorities</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>* Believe that economic growth and resource exploitation can continue indefinitely given (a) a suitable price structure (possibly involving taxes, fees, and so forth) (b) the legal right to be a minimum level of environmental quality; and (c) compensation for those who experience adverse environmental or social consequences.</li> <li>* Accept new project appraisals techniques and decision review arrangements to allow for wider discussion and search for consensus.</li> <li>* Support effective environmental management agencies at the national and local level.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>* Believe that humans can always find a way out of difficulties, either through politics, science, or technology.</li> <li>* Believe that scientific and technological expertise is essential on matters of economic growth and public health and safety.</li> <li>* Accept growth as the legitimate goal of project appraisal and policy formulation.</li> <li>* Are suspicious of attempts to widen participation in project appraisal and policy review.</li> <li>* Believe that any impediment can be overcome given the will, ingenuity and sufficient resources.</li> </ul>

Fig 2.6 Basic environmental ideologies (O'Riordon 1995: 7).

The key regarding the protection of the environment as O'Riordon states "appears to lie in the active concerns of the body politic - the people who become managers, reporters,

architects, academics, labour leaders, or home formers. These are a small percentage of the population dedicated to the preservation of the environment. Those concerns, in turn, depend on the steady aggregation of environmental awareness, fostered both by pressure groups and regular evidence that the society's current institutions are failing to respond adequately" (O'Riordon 1996: 9).

In looking at New Zealand Scott states that "because active environmentalists are probably relatively few, they find it essential to elicit support for their campaigns from other segments of the public. This support is in the form of predominantly passive members of environmental groups and sympathetic members of the general public" (Scott 1989: 58). Concern about the environment means different things to different groups in society. Nature can be protected for different reasons: "aesthetic, scientific, economic, political" (Cotgrove 1982: 34). Yet for the majority of people concern has sprung from a desire to protect scenery and the environment that it encapsulates due to the pleasure 'they' derive from them. The increased affluence after World War II and the leisure associated with the growing enjoyment of the outdoor life and the substantial rise in membership of environmental associations has led to the consumption of the environment. The growth in environmental groups will be discussed relating to its impact on New Zealand in chapter three.

Thus, in the 1960s while this growth in recreation had cemented national parks in the psyche of the general population, there worth to society was still very anthropocentric. The national park was seen not as a place preserving the environment in its natural state but as an outdoor playground for the public. The parks were not truly representative of the country's varied landscape with the parks continuing to be created out spectacular scenery rather than ecologically important areas.

## 2.5 The Public Policy Process

Literature on policy reinforces the concept that national parks were a conception created by the elite because they could best manipulate the society's economic and political system. However, policy also shows that support for national parks is reflected in the broader population relating to the idea of the environment as a consumer good.



This section looks at policy in relation to this chapter and also creates a platform to discuss policy regarding Kahurangi National Park.

In looking at the early stages of the national park idea it was apparent that certain groups controlled the argument. Yet while they shaped the national park ideal to suit themselves they created a situation where the ideology of the national park became acceptable to the majority of the population. An ideology is a "body of ideas and beliefs of a group, nation etc..." (Collins GEM English Dictionary). The justification of the national park was the preservation of scenery for the 'public good' and praised the benefits of the parks in rejuvenating urban populations. While the majority of the population may not have been able to experience the national park they still saw it as a positive feature. This notion of dominant ideology has been expressed in research looking at how public policy is decided.

This section looks at how the public policy process works and affects the different groups involved. In looking at the process three trends appear to dominate: (1) the power of certain groups in the process over others (elitist), (2) the notion of ideologies reflected in support bases (pluralist), and (3) the power of the decision makers to influence the policy.

Ham identifies the ideal policy process as being a reflection of society's wishes for the majority of the population. This reflection is therefore not static and "policies invariably change over time. Yesterday's statement of intent may not be the same as today's because of incremental adjustments to earlier decision-making processes, thereby creating or leading to change in the allocation of values. This is not to say that policies are always changing, but simply that the policy process is dynamic rather than static" (Ham 1984: 13). This policy hopes to best represent the population it serves in a fair way adjusting to changing values. The pluralist approach to public policy is that all groups or individuals have the ability to change policy irrespective of their social or economic power.

However, the term elitist has been given to the argument that, in reality the access to power operates in a way which favours some sections of the population against others. It is these groups which due to their education, occupation or perceived status claim

disproportionate power in the process. They can dominate policy for their own ends against the wishes of the majority, especially if they have perceived power. Public participation "...simply provides the avenue for the articulate and the strongly motivated pressure groups to dominate the debate, simply because they were far better organised and their arguments were much better honed (Brenneis and M'Gonigle 1992).

A merging of both, elitist and pluralist ideas perhaps best represents the national park idea and subsequent development. Whilst certain groups can dominate the policy process, Ham states they do it with the backing of a support base which also holds those values. This merges both the pluralist and elitist theories with values sponsored by the elite and supported by the middle class. The dominant ideologies which groups (elitist) put forward reflect (to some extent) the "life experiences of all classes, and they make sense only because they are grounded in the form of life of the society as a whole" (Ham 1984: 71). It is these ideologies which are predominantly accepted in changing policy because they carry the most weight. Therefore interest groups have a greater chance of changing policy if they are perceived to have mobilised and have the backing of the general public.

The other significant factor is that the people who formulate policy are not devoid of their own values and these play a major part in policy decisions. They can formulate policy to their perceived values regardless of the public perceptions with the knowledge that ideas are accepted when imposed and institutionalised on the public from a higher source. To exercise power is "to prevent people, to whatever degree, from having grievances by shaping their perceptions, cognitions and preferences in such a way that they accept their role in the existing order of things". They accept is "because they can see or imagine no alternative to it, or because they see it as natural and unchangeable, or because they value it as divinely ordained and beneficial" (Lukes 1974: 43).

As Webb (1991) states policy makers can be seen as "faceless purveyors of state policy, as benevolent servants of society or as pawns manipulated by the capitalist power elite. No matter how they are perceived, there can be no doubt that policy makers play a pivotal role in the process" (Hobb 1991: 201). In the early days of national parks in America management of parks was done with limited funding but with enormous enthusiasm. The only people willing to work in the National Park Service were usually

preservationists who worked for little money. These people had no concern for remuneration because for them, slowly changing the environmental policy of America to favour preservation was reward enough.

## 2.6 Summary

The notion of the natural environment as a commodity is ingrained in European actions and the preservation of the environment reflects this. Preservation has only occurred when there is value in protecting certain areas, such as national parks. National parks were the result of the elite seeking preservation to appreciate the scenery that the park encapsulated. While giving both economic and social justification for the creation of national parks it was the elite that gained the most from them. The growth in the 'new' middle class led to more pressure for preservation to occur in order to extend the benefits of park recreation and landscape appreciation.

Chapter Three takes the notions of 'public good' and economic development and applies them to the New Zealand national park situation. From the 1970s social and economic circumstances meant that more landscapes became eligible for preservation. The power of preservation lobbies began to contest landscapes once allocated for other economic production such as forestry and mining. As this chapter has shown those seeking preservation manipulate the policy process to attain their goals. These factors create a situation where the area of Kahurangi became eligible for preservation.



## Chapter Three

# Environmental consumption in New Zealand

### 3.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to analyse the changing nature of landscape protection in New Zealand. Chapter Two discussed two factors important in the creation of the national park idea and its implementation. The first was the growth in the consumption of scenic landscape the elites and the expression of this through national parks. The second factor was that of tourism and public good as providing a solid justification for the exclusion of other forms of development. This pressure for preservation has been growing stronger as more people seeking to consume scenery has meant more land being protected for their benefit.

Chapter Three brings these two points into a New Zealand context discussing how social and economic changes have created the platform for the creation of Kahurangi National Park. The first section looks at the growing call for preservation by certain groups in New Zealand. These groups have been able to further their values due to their positions of influence within society.

At the same time business interests have decommercialised certain landscapes making preservation a viable option. The creation of national parks is just another way the landscape is treated as a commodity. Throughout the history of the national park ideal it has had to compete with other economic developments for control of landscapes. The implications of restructuring within New Zealand has meant some economic developments which had, in the past, contested land with conservation, have become financially non-viable. This has enabled national parks to include landscapes which had previously been used or earmarked for other economic development.

What this chapter demonstrates is that the stage on which environmental contestation occurs is ever shifting. Early national parks in New Zealand were in the mould of 'icon'

parks, being composed of alpine and upland native forest which had no other realistic uses. With the social and economic processes occurring in this chapter, contestation moved into the 'lowland' native forest of which Whanganui and Paparoa National Parks and the extension of Fiordland and Westland parks are examples. The story of Southwest New Zealand provides an example of the increased contestation which has occurred in the 1980s.

### 3.2 The Influence of Preservation

While chapter two broadly looked at those dedicated to preservation, this section seeks to isolate them within New Zealand society. In New Zealand the early national park idea was dominated by a small elite group of people. It was not until after World War Two that the widespread adoption of environmental values occurred (Hays 1987). Like the nineteenth century a class interest argument can be applied to the growth in environmental values within twentieth century New Zealand. The basic structure of the hypothesis is that a new middle class has added strength to the protection of landscapes. They do this because it is a means by which they are able to further their own class interest (Eckersley 1986). It is a basic premise of this kind of approach that social conflict is primarily about the maintenance or improvement of the material circumstances of different classes. According to Enzensberger, the very genesis of the modern environmentalism was "tainted with class selfishness; others having described it as heroin come to the suburbs" (Enzensberger 1977: 6).

There are many common interests uniting particular groups within the new class at the level of status, profession, educational experience or institution (government department, hospital, university). These are the people that can afford to see the environment as a commodity for their enjoyment and recreation (Eckersley 1989). However, what must not be forgotten is that some people within this new group do not express these aspirations. Conversely there are other people who are not middle class that also express environmental values. While agreeing that affluence is the overriding factor Cotgrove (1982) uses the idea of the non-productive sector also holding environmental values. "An expression of the interests of those whose class position in the non-productive sector locates them at the periphery of the institution and process of

industrial capitalist societies.. it is a protest against alienation from the processes of decision-making, and the depoliticization of issues of issues through the usurpation of policy decisions by experts, operating within the dominant economic values" (Cotgrove 1982).

Work done in New Zealand in analysing the type of person expressing these green values appear to concur with Eckersley (1986). In breaking down the demographics of who supported the environmental stance by age groups (more support from the young and middle-aged than from older people), by educational level (more support from the higher educated), and occupation (more support from white collar workers) (Buhrs & Bartlett 1993: 72). The next sections seek to show that this middle class plays a major role in the preservation of New Zealand's landscape.

### 3.2.1 Formalisation

The growing desire to protect landscapes held by individuals could also be seen in the rise in support for environmental organisations. "Environmental groups are a manifest expression of commitment to the environment, and support for those groups can be measured in membership numbers and income from donations, subscriptions, and sales" (Buhrs & Bartlett 1993: 69). Over the last three decades the media has had an important influence in creating environmental values (Rainbow 1993). One obvious example of this was the destruction of the Greenpeace flagship Rainbow Warrior in 1985. Not only was it Greenpeace that benefited, other organisations also saw a rise in public support, as reflected in membership and financial gain. As membership began to rise, the pressure environmental groups could place on reforms increased as more permanent staff could concentrate on environmental reform rather than action. Instead of fighting the destruction of an individual forest they instead could change the environmental structure of the state that led to the reason the forest was destroyed.

Overall, support for environmental groups significantly increased between 1985 and 1991, and this can be interpreted as a sign of growing environmental awareness (Fig 3.1). The growth in New Zealand is reflected in a growing support in other countries. In Britain between 1980 and 1989 membership of some environmental groups doubled, and tripled in the United States (Buhrs & Bartlett 1993: 71). While membership of environmental groups have declined since 1992 (Fig 2.2), they still have a large body of

passive members who, although not members, still support environmental campaigns (Pawson 1996).

GROUP:	MEMBERSHIP:			INCOME (\$NZ)		
	1985	1991	1993	1985	1991	1993
RFBPS	43 800	62 000	52 500	358 000	1 167 000	1 086 000
GREENPEACE	4000	170 000	117 000	453 000	1 302 000	1 044 000
MARUIA SOCIETY	9800	11 800	3000	238 000	336 000	368 000

Fig 3.1 Support for environmental groups (Pawson 1996: 261).

As these groups' power increased it was reflected in their demands for more land to be preserved to satisfy their environmental values. Before the 1980s national parks had been created in landscapes marginal for other economic uses such as alpine areas or upland forest. Environmental values are a reflection of the beliefs preservationist hold at a particular time. The national park ideal in the nineteenth century looked to preserve spectacular scenery which they thought worthy of protection. However, by second half of the twentieth century environmental values have changed significantly. As information about the environment and the impact of people became more advanced, environmental values came to reflect this. Knowledge of the environments ecosystems and habitats all led to preservationists demanding other landscapes to be protected. While forests have always been seen as needing protection areas such as swamps, wild water, high country began to receive recognition as to their 'worth'.

As Pawson states areas such as these are defined as contested lands where preservation and production have clashed (Pawson 1996). Two example of this power were the changing national park legislation and environmental contestation regarding the New Zealand Forest Service (NZFS).

### 3.2.2 National Parks Legislation

The decades post Second World War marked the growing prosperity among a increasing number of the 'new' middle class and this was expressed in the creation of



groups such as the Youth Hostel Association, church groups, and tramping clubs. These people demanded access to the "healthy, morally virtuous and recreational benefits of the outdoors" (in Memon & Perkins 1993: 175). As interest in national parks increased after the Second World War a review of administration led to the passing of the National Parks Act 1952. This made the Minister of Lands responsible to Parliament for national parks and laid the foundations for an integrated system of parks. This led to the creation of Fiordland (1952), Mount Cook (1953), Urewera (1954), Nelson Lakes (1956), Westland (1960), and Mount Aspiring (1964) (NZ Yearbook 1971: 379). Fig 2.2 shows the 1997 distribution of national parks in New Zealand.

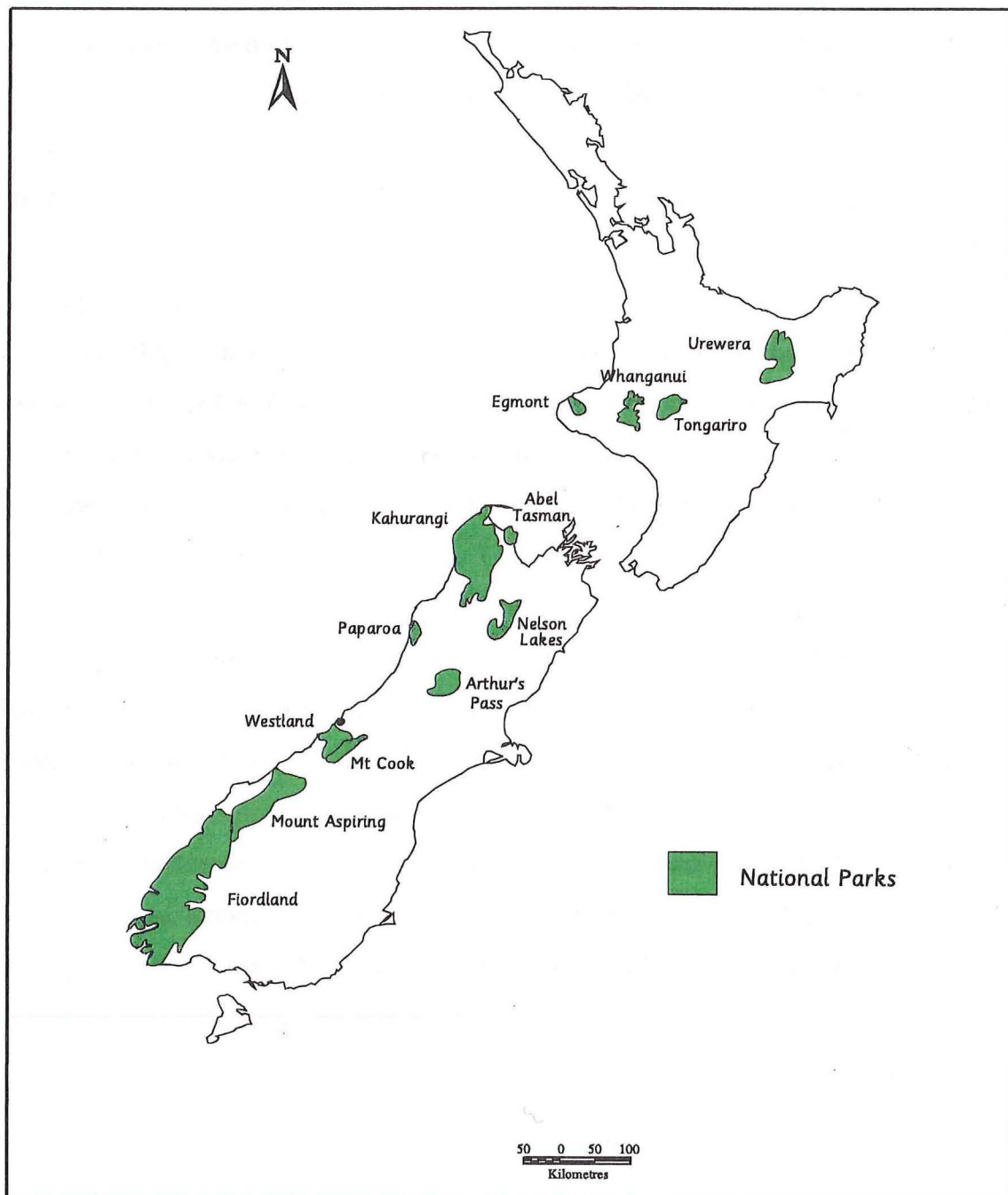


Fig 3.2 New Zealand, National Parks 1997 (adapted from Kirby 1997).

All these parks reflected the implementation of a integrated National Parks Authority. "The National Parks Act established the National Parks Authority consisting of the Director-General of Lands (Chairman), the Assistant Director-General of Lands, the Secretary for Internal Affairs, the Director-General of Forests, the General Manager of Department of Tourist and Publicity, three persons appointed by the Minister of Lands on the recommendation of the Royal Forest and Bird Protection Society, the Federated Mountain Clubs of New Zealand and the Royal Society of New Zealand respectively" (NZ Yearbook 1971: 380). The variety of members on this authority were an attempt to balance development and preservation at that time. Conservation representatives gained a foothold in the environmental administration of New Zealand.

The mandate of the authority was quite encompassing with its goals to "(a) advocate and adopt schemes for the protection of national parks and for their development on a national basis, (b) recommend the enlargement of existing parks and the setting apart of new ones, (c) recommend the manner of allocation of moneys voted by Parliament for the administration, maintenance, and improvement of national parks, (d) exercise such powers and duties as the Act confers upon it, and (e) generally control in the national interest the administration of all national parks in New Zealand (NZ Yearbook 1953: 377).

Legislation reflected the notion that parks were created "for the purpose of preserving in perpetuity as national parks, for the benefit and enjoyment of the public, areas of New Zealand that contain scenery of such distinctive quality or natural features so beautiful or unique that their preservation is in the national interest" (NZ Yearbook 1971: 380). The creation of an integrated system meant that those advocating preservation could use this system to further increase the national park estate. The policy process discussed in chapter two showed how the elite are able to dominate the process due to their power. What this system did was create a formalised system that preservationists could control.

### **3.2.3 Environmental Action**

Environmental action is an expression of those advocating preservation, and this

example shows the impact of their collective voice within New Zealand environmental history. The New Zealand Forestry Service (NZFS) was responsible for managing New Zealand's Forest Parks covering some 1.8 million hectares (NZ Yearbook 1996: 338). The mandate for these parks in 1962 read "to manage the national forest park estate in such a way that it will provide the greatest possible economic and social benefit for the people of New Zealand" (NZ Yearbook 1964: 451). This policy aimed at (1) the conservation of the indigenous forest for perpetual (though of necessity limited) timber production, for soil protection, and for recreation. "Conservation measures in indigenous production forests involve regulation and restriction of the permissible annual cut of equal importance to this policy of conservation. Close utilisation is that of rationing the cut of indigenous timbers so that the remaining supplies, particularly of high quality wood, are spread out over the longest period possible instead of being used up in a very short time" (NZ Yearbook 1964: 456). This policy aimed at the sustainable use of the forest parks' resources and while preservation was important it was placed within the utilisation of the forest resources.

One project for indigenous forest the NZFS proposed was the controversial South Island 'beech scheme' in 1971. With this scheme the NZFS aimed at utilising the southern beech forest of Nelson-Westland and Southland held by the Crown. It was planned to convert 940,000 hectares of beech forest into exotics and to protect only 60,000 hectares. The New Zealand Forest Service argued that New Zealand's land base was not large enough that it could afford to 'lock' up land which had a production potential (Memon & Wilson 1993: 109).

While at this time the active environmentalists were few in number they were well organised and knew the political process. What gave them power was the the growing population of people expressing preservation values (the new middle class). The strength of their power was perhaps most visible when the Maruia Declaration, a petition launched by the Native Forest Action Council, called for the end of logging of indigenous forest. This petition was presented to parliament two years later with 341,140 signatures (Pawson 1992: 209).

### The Maruia Declaration:

- 1 Native forests, wherever they remain, need recognition and protection in law.
- 2 The wholesale burning of indigenous forests and wildlife has no place in a civilised country.
- 3 The logging of virgin forests should be phased out by 1978.
- 4 Our remaining publicly owned native forests should be placed in the hands of an organisation that has a clear and undivided responsibility to protect them.
- 5 To reduce commercial pressures on native forests, the growing of fine quality exotic and native timbers on land not presently forested should be given encouragement.
- 6 It is prudent to be conservative in our consumption and export of those forest products, especially newsprint and packaging paper, which makes heavy demands on our precious resources of land, energy and water (Wilson, 1982).

The implications of this petition, in 1977 was another example to the government as to the importance that the preservation held for a significant percentage of the population.

Fig 3.3 illustrates that clashes over the environment were numerous during this period. Pawson states that the "rise of political interest in New Zealand since the 1960s has led to prolonged contests over two categories of landscape with both high development and scenic values: water bodies and unprotected native forest" (Pawson 1992: 207). It was not until 1981 that protected status was given to lowland native forests, with the addition of South Okarito and Waikukupa state forests to the Westland National Park, followed by the creation of Paparoa and Whanganui National Parks. These landscapes were a result of political and economic circumstances enabling preservation to occur.

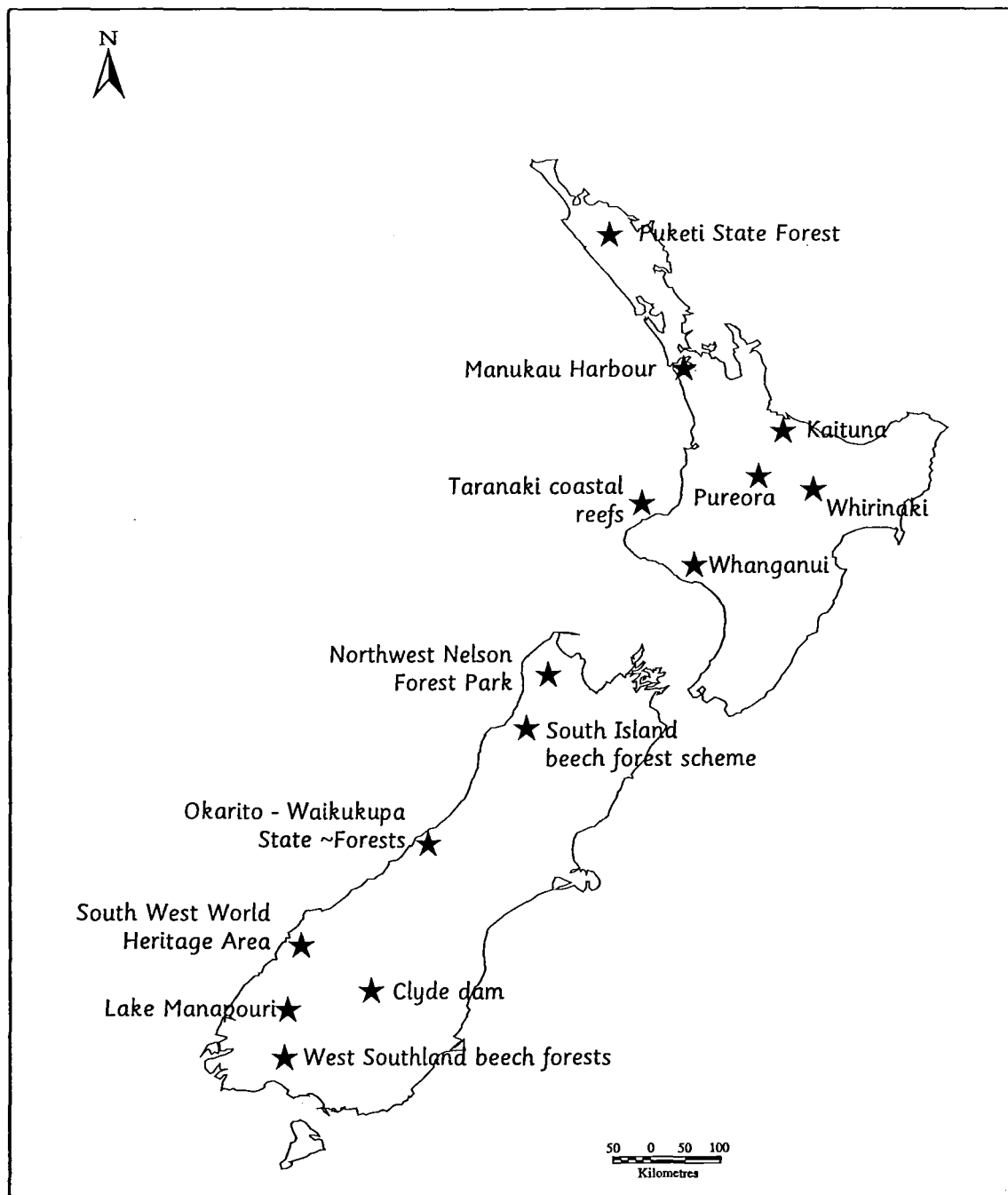


Fig 3.3 Environmental Contestation in New Zealand 1960s-1980s (adapted from Pawson 1992: 208).

### 3.3 The 'Greening' of Politics?

Politically this environmental show of force was not lost on one political party, that of Labour. In the 1975 election Labour was decimated losing its three year hold on power to National led by Robert Muldoon. In 1975 the grass roots membership of the party (excluding the affiliate trade unions) stood at only 14,000 people. A recruitment drive was undertaken thereafter, aimed at those sectors of the community disenchanted with

the Muldoon administration. The branch membership eventually rose to about 100,000 before the 1984 election (Gustafsan 1989: 150). Yet this change in numbers had been brought about by a change which saw an increasing number of white collar workers join the traditional blue collar workers of the party. Labour realised that it could no longer continue to rely on working class support alone to regain power.

These 'new' middle class were precisely those expressing environmental values. It was these new members that Labour targeted with sympathetic environmental policy, on the assumption that many were young, urban liberal voters (Buhrs & Bartlett 1993, Cotgrove 1982). It judged that many lived in marginal urban constituencies vital to the party's chances of regaining power (Pawson 1992: 188). Class interest argument states that Labour adopting these values meant that the middle class was able to satisfy its material interests at the expense of the working class. However, in New Zealand this appears not to be the case with restructuring radically changing the country's economy. Traditionally a large number of working class had been involved in jobs where the environment was seen for its production values rather than preservation. Yet by the 1970s and 1980s restructuring had meant that production jobs relating to the 'environment' were collapsing (Pawson 1992). Therefore by adopting environmental values Labour was by necessity expanding its constituency rather than abandoning the working class.

Before the 1978 election the environmental policy of both main parties was similar in that they gave little recognition to the environment. Buhrs and Bartlett (1993) state that by the 1984 election the gap had widened between environmental philosophy. During the late 1970s the controversial hydro dam project in the upper Clutha was fully supported by the National government and its continuing 'think big' programme however, Labour was opposed to such a single purpose project. They state that "while Labour's 1978 and 1981 election manifesto began to recognise the significance of institutional reforms relating to environmental planning and the government's role as a developer, the National Party did not".

However, in looking at environmental reform the National party contributed equally, if not more than Labour before the 1984 election. It was the National party that introduced the 1980 National Parks Act which made national park nomination for a

variety of landscapes easier. The extension of Westland National Park also showed a willingness towards preserving New Zealand's natural heritage. Unfortunately due to well publicised projects, such as the Clutha dam, these environmental reforms were overshadowed

By the 1990 election the greening of New Zealand politics could be seen in the fact that both National and Labour now assigned great importance to their environmental manifestos. Labour initiated, the establishment of a new environmental agencies and the introduction of the Resource Management Act. In 1990 National had, in an attempt to outbid Labour, promised to reduce carbon dioxide emissions faster than Labour, and to generate 'thousands' of jobs involved with the 'Task Force Green' projects (Buhrs & Bartlett 1993: 78).

### 3.3.1 Economic Realities

While at the same time as preservationists gained power, economic realities enabled nomination of landscapes once bracketed for other developments. The effect of economic changes on the New Zealand environment has been enormous. In the last 15 years economic realities have created a situation where business interests have decommercialised areas thereby leading to their preservation. In the past the economic worth of these areas for production rather than preservation had stopped the expansion of national parks. The expansion of national parks into these new areas brought their supporters into conflict with those fighting for continuation of production values. Production values relate to the use of an area for such things as: forestry, mining, farming and the raw materials they provide. The reason why this has occurred is a result of restructuring, in the 1980s which has affected all areas of New Zealand society.

The reform of the environment should be seen in the broader context which encompasses New Zealand's lethargic realisation of globalisation, the failure of the Keynesian welfare system and the influence of new right policy. The new right philosophy saw the state as the problem to inefficient government, rather than the solution. Therefore from 1984 New Zealand's direction can be characterised by the historic slogan used by National in the 1949 election: 'less government in business, more business in government' (Buhrs and Bartlett 1993).

Relating to the environment the effect of this direction has been significant. From early colonial times until recently, the direct involvement of the New Zealand state in the development of resources has been regarded as essential for improving living standards and social welfare. Historically much of the progress in conservation policy has been achieved because of the economic - and therefore political-viability of conservation solutions. Most national parks created before the 1980s were in areas where preservation was the only realistic economic option. Areas such as Arthurs Pass, Tongariro and Mt Cook, the 'icon' parks, marginal for anything other than preservation.

By the 1980s Treasury judged the notion of state development of natural resources (farming and forestry) where returns were marginal to be a waste of resources. In many instances the development of resources has only been economically viable, because of financial support from the state. The globalisation of the economy meant that in an international context the utilisation of marginal lands in New Zealand was unviable when compared to exploitation of the same commodity which could be attained cheaper elsewhere (Pawson 1992: 188).

One example of this change can be seen with lowland forest. Since the early 1980s considerable areas of lowland native forest have been added to the Crown's national parks and reserves. The globalisation of the economy, leading to competition, has seen a willingness by large forestry companies to forego much of this resource in favour of more accessible plantation forests or accessible strands of native forest in other forests overseas. Historically forestry companies have been seen as hindering preservation because of their production methods destroying the environment. Some have called this co-operation between the conservationists and forestry groups the 'unholy alliance' showing clearly how business interests have decommercialised areas making preservation a viable option (Scott 1992: 234).

A major result of this 'unholy alliance' was the West Coast Forest Accord which was signed in November 1986 between conservation, recreation, local authority, timber industry, union leaders and the central government. This divided the West Coast State Forests between those bracketed for production and those for preservation. The New Zealand Forest Accord in 1991 followed up this initial limited settlement with the



timber industry and environmental groups. Its objectives are to define areas suitable for plantation forests and to protect the remaining indigenous forests. Nevertheless, a number of factors compromised the effectiveness of this agreement as Timberlands (West Coast Ltd), most of Maori forest owners and Federated Farmers are not signatories. Even though Timberlands is run by the government they believe that they can sustainably mill indigenous forests (Wilson & Memon 1993: 111-17).

While the last sections has identified separated environmental and economic pressures for the growth in national parks. The next section will look at how these pressures reflected themselves on the environmental administration.

### **3.3.2 Legislative Change**

When the Fourth Labour government came into power in 1984, no one expected the kind of radical transformation of the State that was to follow. Although Labour's election manifesto contained many promises for change, including proposals in the area of environmental administration it was assumed they would be cosmetic changes. However, with political pressure coming about from both environmental groups and economic interest New Zealand instead underwent revolutionary changes in the 1980s. Longstanding departmental mandates for the central control and utilisation of resources were radically changed. The reasons for this were: "the inherent conflicts between the development and preservation roles of some government departments, notably the New Zealand Forest Service (NZFS) and the Department of Lands and Survey (DLS). Secondly, calls for greater participation in government decision making emerged in the 1970s. Third, the contemporaneous growth of the environmental movement gave momentum to the challenge" (Pawson 1992: 189).

Government departments such as the New Zealand Forest Service, the Department of Lands and Survey, and the Ministry of Works combined a development role with environmental responsibilities. The DLS for example was in charge of land development, farms, national parks and reserves. For a specific block of Crown land, in some situations, the department was faced with the option of whether to preserve it or use it for production purposes. Usually the decision was taken within the DLS with little opportunity for public participation. The NZFS was manager of Crown exotic

forests estates and indigenous forest estates and was also faced with balancing preservation and production.

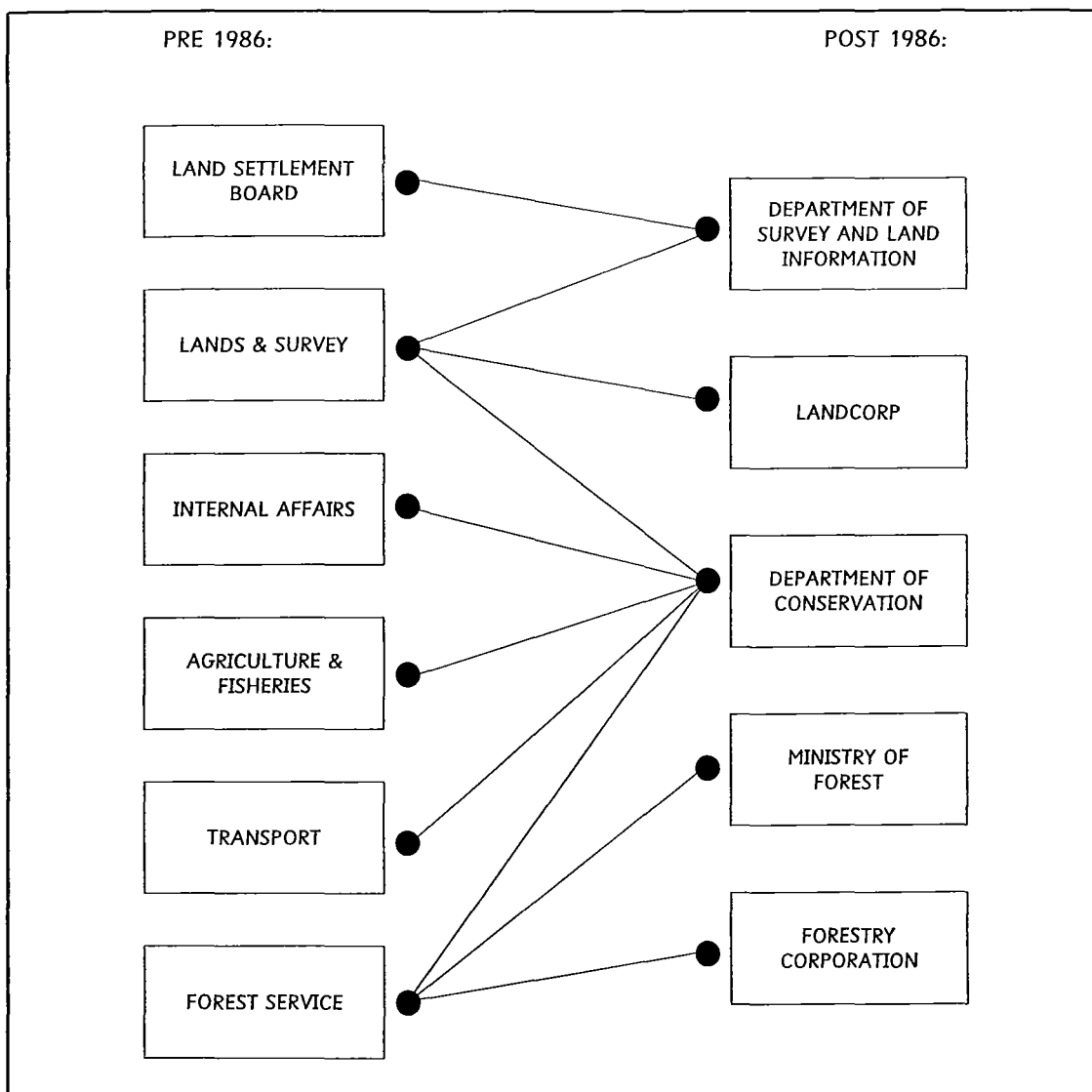


Fig 3.4 Reallocation of functions (adapted from Memon 1993: 50).

Environmental groups saw this dual mandate as the "goats minding the cabbages" (Buhrs & Bartlett 1993: 95). The environmentalists sought to create one strong environmental agency to advocate conservation. They did not see a reduction in state involvement but rather a separation. Initially this call was rejected as a task force set up to analyse the future of conservation decided on a very different scheme.

In 1985 a new department was planned to act as the focus and champion of the conservation interests. "While the Conservation Act put primary emphasis on managing formally protected areas for their intrinsic worth, the earlier draft of the bill gave equal prominence to the creation of tourism and a range of other opportunities, even including

logging." (Memon 1993: 64). This initial proposal defined the term conservation as multiple utilisation of resources and created significant opposition from both conservationists and Treasury and was amended during its enactment. Treasury's argument stated that the creation of another department with multi-faceted and extended agencies such as the old NZFS and DLS was by its nature inefficient. "Having just convinced the Cabinet to implement radically liberal economic policies, that anticipated massive deregulation of the economy through the reduction of public sector intervention, Treasury perceived the proposed reforms on environmental policy as contradicting the key principles of economic policy: less government, less regulation, less centralisation and more free market approach" (Memon 1993: 62).

The final result of lobbying by both the environmentalists (environmental pressure) and Treasury (economic pressure) was a system very different from the one of 'dual mandate' departments. The conservation functions of the New Zealand Forest Service, the Department of Lands and Survey, and other government agencies were brought together in the new Department of Conservation (DoC), whereas the commercial operations, were transferred into state owned enterprises, the Forestry Corporation Ltd and the Land Corporation Ltd (Fig 3.4).

### 3.4 The Policy of the Department of Conservation

The Department of Conservation (DoC) was established on April 1 1987 with the mandate "to ensure that natural and physical resources are managed to sustain and enhance environmental quality and human well being". The Environment Act determined that in the management of natural and physical resources a "full and balanced account is to be taken of the intrinsic values of ecosystems, the values of environmental quality, the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi and the needs of future generations" (Pawson 1992: 172). However, environmental groups did not succeed in reducing DoC's necessity to be partially self-funding, Treasury saw this as paramount to a lean, efficient department. Pressure groups saw it as a threat to free access to the conservation estate in the form of fees and charges for using conservation land. It also made DoC vulnerable to political pressure from those wanting to exploit its resources (Memon 1993: 67).

The DoC estate consists of nearly 30 percent of New Zealand's land area, some 8 million hectares. The Conservation Act 1987 gives DoC a management and advocacy role which gave unprecedented powers to a single department.

With the divergence between the commercial and conservation estates the 1987 Conservation Act gave DoC "virtually no option but to support forest preservation. In the Act, the Department is charged with advocating the conservation of natural and historic resources. This alone may not have excluded the possibility of sustained yield management provided it was found to be environmentally sound. But the term 'conservation' in the act to all practical purposes did" (Scott 1989: 94). The purpose of this section is to ask the question:

How can a department charged with conserving New Zealand's natural heritage objectively assess if an area should become a national park? The significant factor is that Kahurangi would be the first national park entirely investigated by DoC. Yet contestation is not new regarding national parks and the next sections show this relating to the 'new' parks.

### **3.4.1 The 'new' National Park**

The change in legislation in 1980 meant that the creation of national parks could occur where the landscape was not just 'spectacular'. Until the 1980s New Zealand's national parks system was quite unrepresentative of the country's varied landscapes, being composed of alpine and upland native forest which had no other realistic uses. Subsequently, however, areas consisting of lowland forest have been added to existing parks (Westland & Fiordland), and two new parks have been created. The reason for this was the pressure from environmentalists and also the willingness of forestry companies to forego the areas in favour of plantation forestry or native forests overseas.

Following the extension of Westland National Park both Whanganui and Paparoa National Parks were created. Paparoa first received attention in response to pressure groups about the potential for development within the proposed boundaries. A DLS investigation in 1978 was held to gain information into the qualities of the area. In 1979, the National Parks Authority, charged with making the decision, was unable to

agree as to whether the park met the criteria for national park status. However, renewed pressure from developers and the new national park criteria strengthened the case for a national park. When, in June 1985 the National Parks authority made its decision in favour, the decision was left with the Minister of Lands. Pressure from West Coast interests meant that a settlement was negotiated, which became known as the West Coast Forest Accord (1986). While Paparoa was gazetted on the 30 November 1987, the West Coast got, in return cutting rights to State Forests (indigenous) elsewhere on the Coast to lessen the impact (Rendall 1995: 337).

The creation of Whanganui (1986) also saw the effects of the new legislation and the ability of areas of production values to meet new national park criteria. The park protects one of the largest remaining tracts of lowland forest remaining in the North Island and provides a habitat for a wide variety of native wildlife. As it is almost entirely a lowland park it is in contrast with the two neighbouring parks, Egmont and Tongariro which are largely alpine in character. Its protection was a combination of environmental pressure and the declining values of its timber for production purposes (Whanganui Management Plan 1988). While all of these parks have involved contestation of different types, a detailed case study relating to Southwest New Zealand seeks to show the type of conflict that occurred in the 1980s.

### **3.4.2 Environmental Contestation: Southwest New Zealand Heritage Area.**

Work done by Scott (1989) and Kirby (1993 and 1997) looked at the contest regarding the landscape of the Southwest New Zealand. The 2.6 million hectares of the present South West New Zealand represents 10% of the total area of the country, but contains less than 1% of its population. Compared with the rest of New Zealand this huge area is relatively unaltered by human activity (Kirby 1997: 204).

Environmental groups considered the area to be of international significance, and worthy of world heritage status (Kirby 1996: 222). These groups proposed to incorporate the existing national parks into a larger area which would include all Crown land in Southwest New Zealand (Fig 3.5). However, against this proposal was the population of the West Coast especially the small population south of the Cook river, who were, on the whole, opposed to forest preservation. "The 438 local people, mainly

centred around the community of Haast, have historically relied on the natural resources of the region for their livelihood, including timber products from the native forests" (Scott 1989: 3).

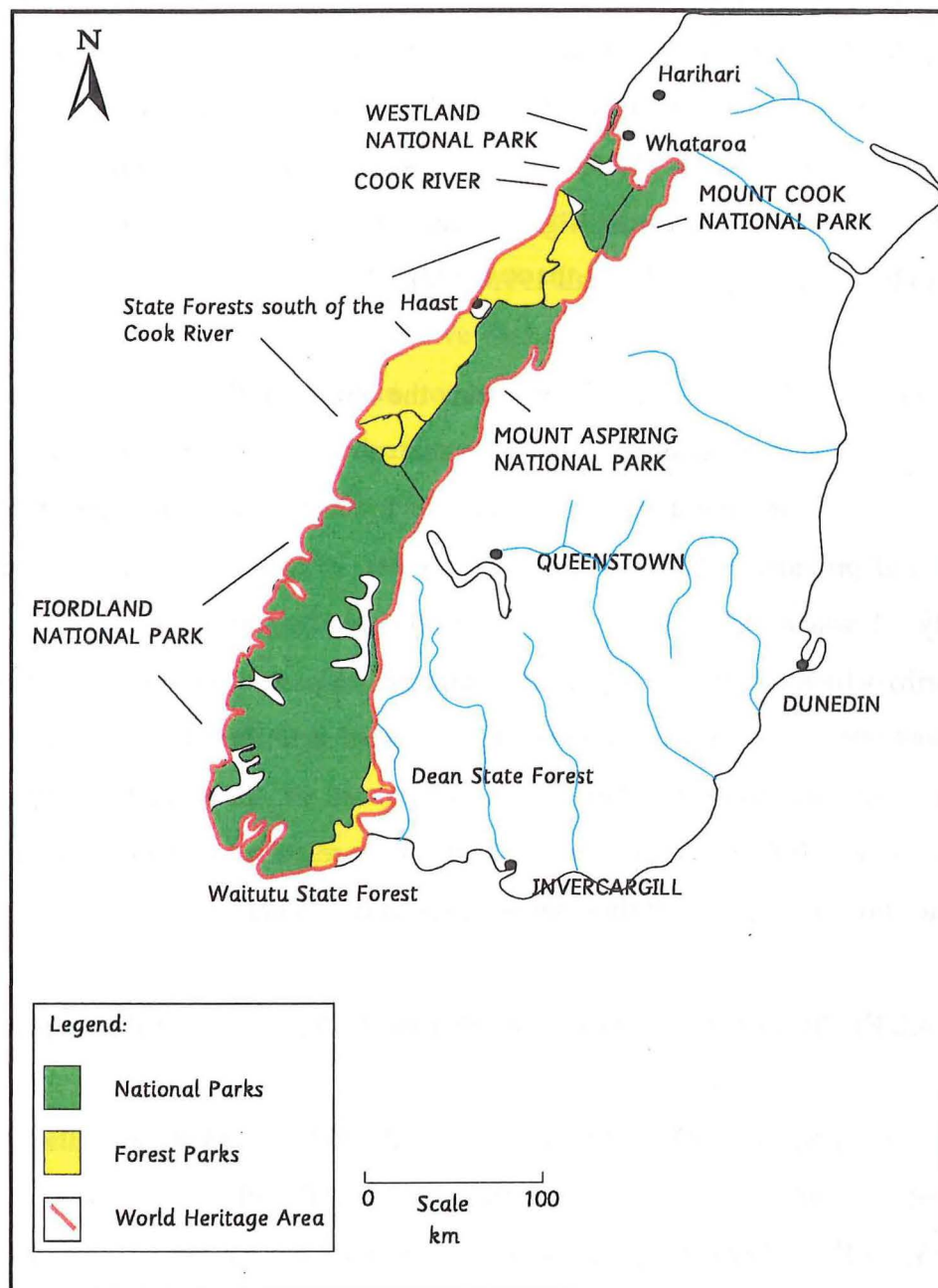


Fig 3.5 South West New Zealand World Heritage Area, 1990 boundaries.

In 1978 logging south of the Cook River had ceased when the Carter's Mill closed due to political pressure from environmentalists. A moratorium was placed on logging south of the river and this was due to end in 1990. The government was required to make a decision on whether to protect, or allow production (at various intensities). Three strategies were proposed, the first being the forests would be given national park status, in which case no timber production would occur. Strategy Two was that all former State

Forest land would be included in a South Westland Forest Park. No timber production would be allowed. Strategy Three was for certain areas of State Forest to be allocated for timber production, to be managed on a sustained yield basis. The remainder of the State Forest area would be set aside for protection under the control of the Department of Conservation (Kirby 1997: 238).

The debate created a situation where "environmentalists, who had banded together in 1980 to form the Joint Campaign on Native Forests (made up of Forest & Bird, the Maruia Society, FMC and Environment and Conservation Organisations of NZ, lined up behind the DoC option (Strategy One), while South Westlanders and other West Coast regional advocates of timber production supported the Forestry Corporation option" (Scott 1989: 4). To remedy the conflict the proposal was to create a working party, whereby it was hoped to gain consensus with the decision arrived at.

Scott however, argues that this consultation was sabotaged as "national forces were already undermining the local level efforts to reach a consensus decision". 1987 was an election year and the National party opposition had decided to support forest preservation south of the Cook River as part of its policy on the environment. However National was not prepared to support a World Heritage Area (which would have excluded any areas subsequently allocated to the Forestry Corporation for production) and this was taken up by Labour in its manifesto. "With both parties supporting preservation consensus, at the local level, became impossible with the environmentalists not prepared to compromise on the stand that no logging should occur" (Scott 1989: 85).

The national issue, that of the 1987 election, eclipsed any chance of the working party achieving an amicable result. When the decision was announced by Labour it declared that all 34,000 hectares of State Forest south of the Cook river would be allocated to DoC, thereby ensuring their protection from logging; and that a nomination would be made for the area to become a World Heritage Area (Fig 3.5).

A class based argument can be applied, with the new middle class controlling the environmental debate due to their electoral importance. The geographic distribution of those professing environmental values is very important for political parties. Eckersley

stated this group tend to live in affluent metropolitan districts which in the last twenty years have been politically volatile (Scott 1989: 107).

Discussion earlier in this chapter looked at the new middle class and while a definition was given, spatially they were not defined. Work by Scott (1989) looked at how Labour's electoral chances improved by their decision to support World Heritage status. "South Westlanders persistently expressed the view that the native forests were preserved for the sake of picking up urban particularly Auckland votes.. there is probably a great deal of substance to this allegation" (Scott 1989: 107). Scott states that urban seats were swayed before 1987 by Labour's economic policy (which involved changes in environmental administration favouring preservation) and in 1984 saw previously safe National seats such as Remuera in Auckland, and Fendalton in Christchurch, become marginal (held in 1987 by National with a majority of 406 and 311 votes respectively). "Areas such as Fendalton and Remuera are exactly the sort of places from which many submissions derived (regarding South Westland) and tend to be havens for environmental reforms" (Scott 1989: 107).

Public submissions show the backing for World Heritage came from the urban electorates, especially from Auckland and Christchurch (Fig3.5). The government received a total of 3953 submissions on the proposals. The geographical distribution of the submissions, showed that strategy one had overwhelming support from all parts of New Zealand apart from the West Coast where strategy three was favoured (Kirby 1997: 238). "The majority of all submissions received (2990 out of 3953, or 76%) supported strategy one, the preservation of State Forests lands under national park or similar status. Forty-two percent of this support originated from Auckland and Canterbury together. Ninety percent of submissions from the North Island supported strategy one, compared with 60% of submissions from the South Island. Numerically, the support for strategy one was the highest from the Canterbury region (702 submissions)" (Kirby 1997: 238). It was acknowledged by the majority of individuals who supported strategy one that they were members of conservation groups (Fig 3.6).



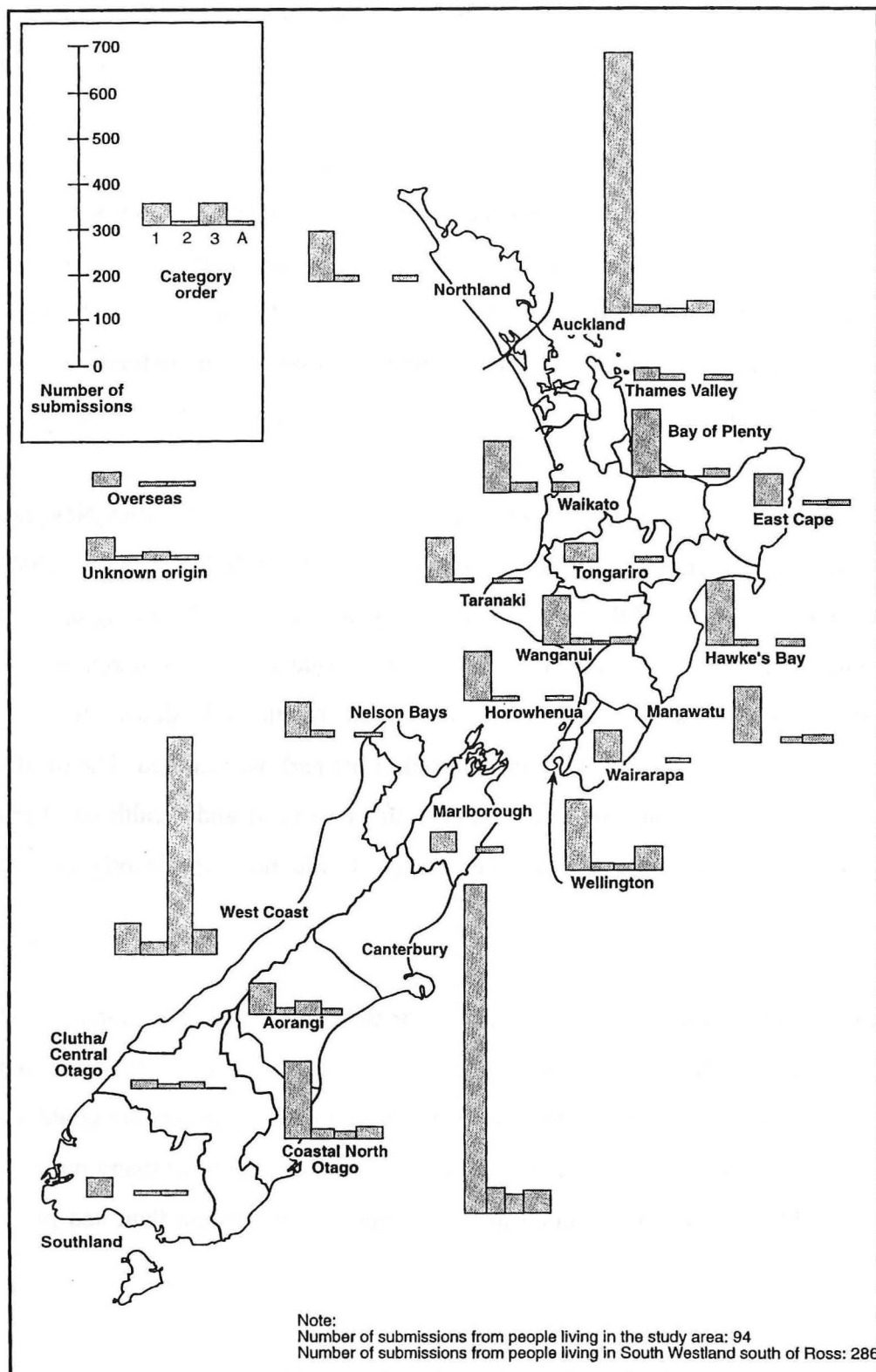


Fig 3.6 Geographical origin of submissions to Blakeley Working Party (Scott 1989: 6).

The large number of submissions was a result of a national campaign from environmental groups who praised the environmental importance of the area. Success was a result of the Westland landscape appealing to the popular image of national parks,

that of spectacular scenery. Some of the images portrayed were those of an 'untouched' piece primeval New Zealand, lush rainforest and the 'land lost in time' (Scott 1989). This resulted in a national response with numerous submissions received from all around the country (3.6).

While creating numerous submissions and public attention contestation was limited in this case because the landscape concerned relected the qualities of the older type of national park. The characteristics of these parks were; (1) long distances away from significant metropolitan areas, (2) diminishing alternative commercial options, (3) difficult access hindering recreation.

In population terms the Westland area contained 9,519 people (Statistics New Zealand 1996). Within this small population research by Kirby (1997) and Scott (1989) has shown that the majority of the population were against the idea of 'locking up' land into the conservation estate. Therefore these people present a fairly homogenous interest against the creation of the park. In the case of South Westland the decommercialisation of forestry meant that commercial interest within the park was limited. The third factor was a lack of recreational interests. The small population and wealth of alternative recreational areas meant that recreational interests did not significantly contest this landscape.

However, this situation is in direct contrast with the creation of Kahurangi National Park. Because the Kahurangi area was less spectacular than other landscapes national interests (in the form of large numbers of submissions form around the country) were minimal. Yet because the landscape was less spectacular there were many more groups who valued that area. This resulted in a new type of contestation than had previously been seen in New Zealand.

### 3.5 Summary

As the consumption of landscape for recreation and tourism has grown in importance, a consequence has been in the expansion of national parks into areas once reserved for other economic developments. Political parties have reacted to this growth in power

with environmental manifestos designed to attract the 'new' middle class. Within the concept of class argument this is seen as a victory for middle class values in achieving the creation of national parks. However, while the power of environmental mobilisation was significant preservationists could not have succeeded without economic factors decommercialising other developments. Within the embracing grip of restructuring the preservation of certain landscapes became easier as other production options became marginal. With the Crown owning the majority of this contested land its environmental legislation was restructured.

These processes have created a situation where the area Kahurangi encapsulates became eligible for national park status. Like the creation of other national parks there are conflicts of interests regarding the values people hold towards the landscape. But because it involved a landscape not previously seen as of national park standard and having numerous other production possibilities, the discussion over park status for Kahurangi led to new complexities of contestation.



## Chapter Four

### Reading the Kahurangi landscape

#### 4.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to outline the conflicts of interest regarding the creation of Kahurangi National Park. The Kahurangi landscape means different things to different people. For some it is a ecological treasure that needed protection, but others see it as an area with huge economic potential and seek development. Chapter three discussed the creation of New Zealand's national parks up until the 1980s and the example of the South Westland native forests was used to illustrate contestation. However, the creation of Kahurangi National Park marked an increase in contestation that previously had not been experienced in New Zealand.

#### 4.2 Kahurangi - The Catalyst for Conflict

In October 1990 the Minister of Conservation, Denis Marshall, and the New Zealand Conservation Authority had discussions on whether an investigation into the creation of a national park in Northwest Nelson (NWN) should occur. DoC states that this "impetus for the investigation came from people who want the area's natural values recognised and given the highest protection" (DoC Northwest South Island investigation 1993: 1).

The main aim of the investigation was to assess whether national park status was more appropriate for the area than the then current protection. That required an assessment of the area's values to a wide group of individuals and groups who have interests in the landscape in some form. As part of the investigation DoC produced two discussion documents (August 1992 and July 1993), which were intended to present the issues as objectively as possible. Consultation with tangata whenua and local communities accompanied the preparation of the documents so that their perspective on the issues could be incorporated. After the first discussion document there was a twelve week submission period for public comment.

#### 4.2.1 Summary of Submissions

The submissions process is one way that people expressed their values within the investigation process. The analysis was carried out by DoC and included in the 1993 Northwest investigation document.

A total of 1105 submissions were received by DoC. Overall these were strongly in favour of a national park in the Northwest South Island. There were 864 (78%) submissions in support, 211 (19%) in opposition and 30 (3%) which had no stance or gave conditional support for the concept.

Overall there was a much higher level of support for the park from outside the West Coast and Nelson/Marlborough regions than within them. Of the 518 submissions from outside these regions, 96% supported the concept compared with only 63% of the 547 submissions from within them. Conversely there were more objections from people within these areas (West Coast and Nelson/Marlborough) compared to those from outside (34% compared to 3% respectively) (Fig 4.1).

The level of support within the Nelson/Marlborough and West Coast regions varied greatly by locality. The greatest opposition came from Westport (76% opposed, 24% support) and Golden Bay (44% opposed, 54% support). Eighty percent of the Karamea submissions supported the proposal with many of these supporters being from the commercial sector. Most of the remaining West Coast submissions supported the proposal (Fig 4.1b).

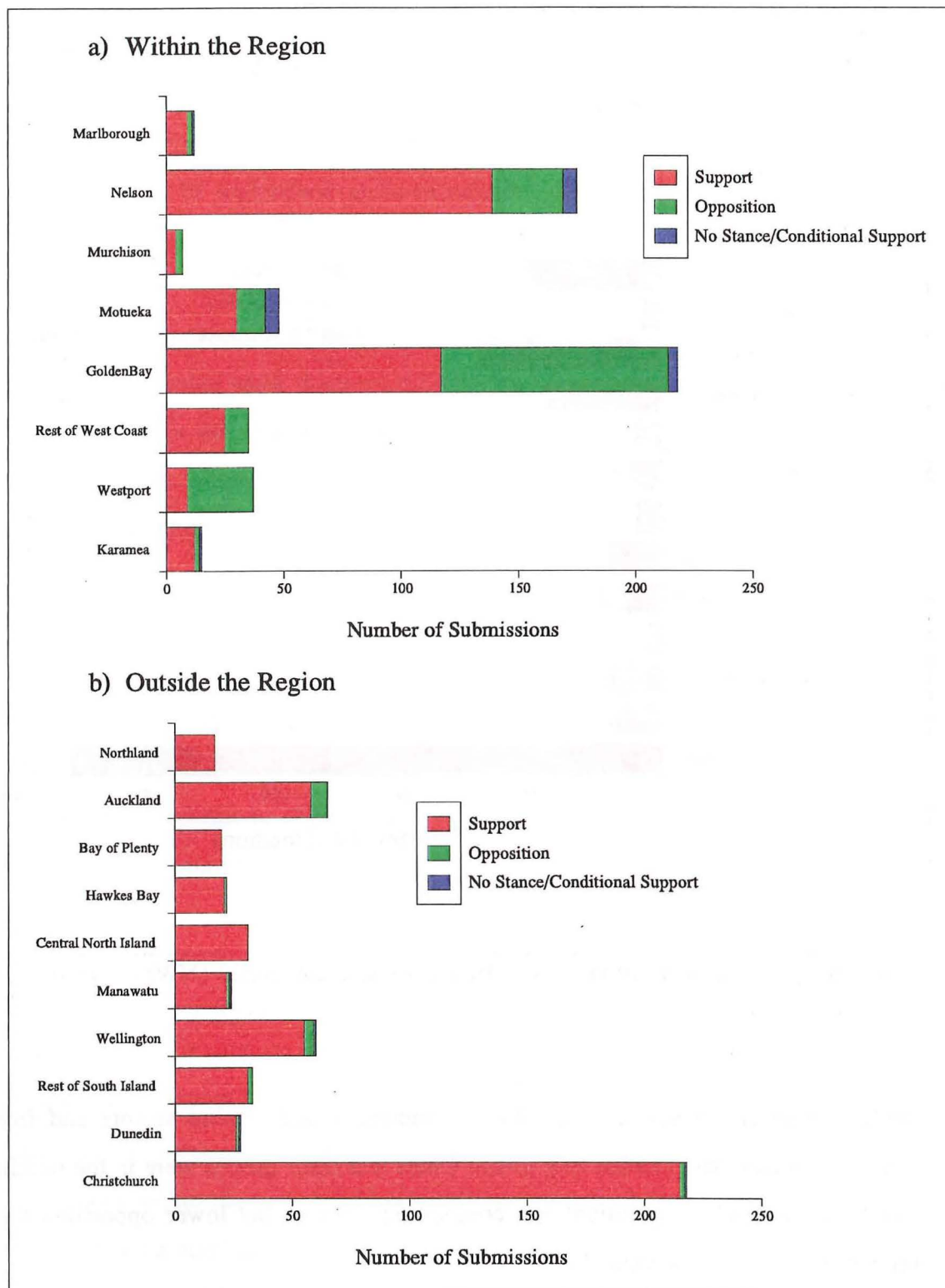


Fig 4.1 Analysis of support and opposition from different areas (NWSI investigation 1993).

Fig 4.2 shows the level of support from each of the categories which the submissions were divided into. The highest levels of support were from conservation organisations; "forms resulting from conservation campaigns; families and individuals" (NWSI investigation 1993: 74). Results from the different forms and questionnaires have been

shown to give an indication of where these submitter's affiliations lay. The combined level of support from the various organisations and groups was much lower than the general public (60% support to 81%).

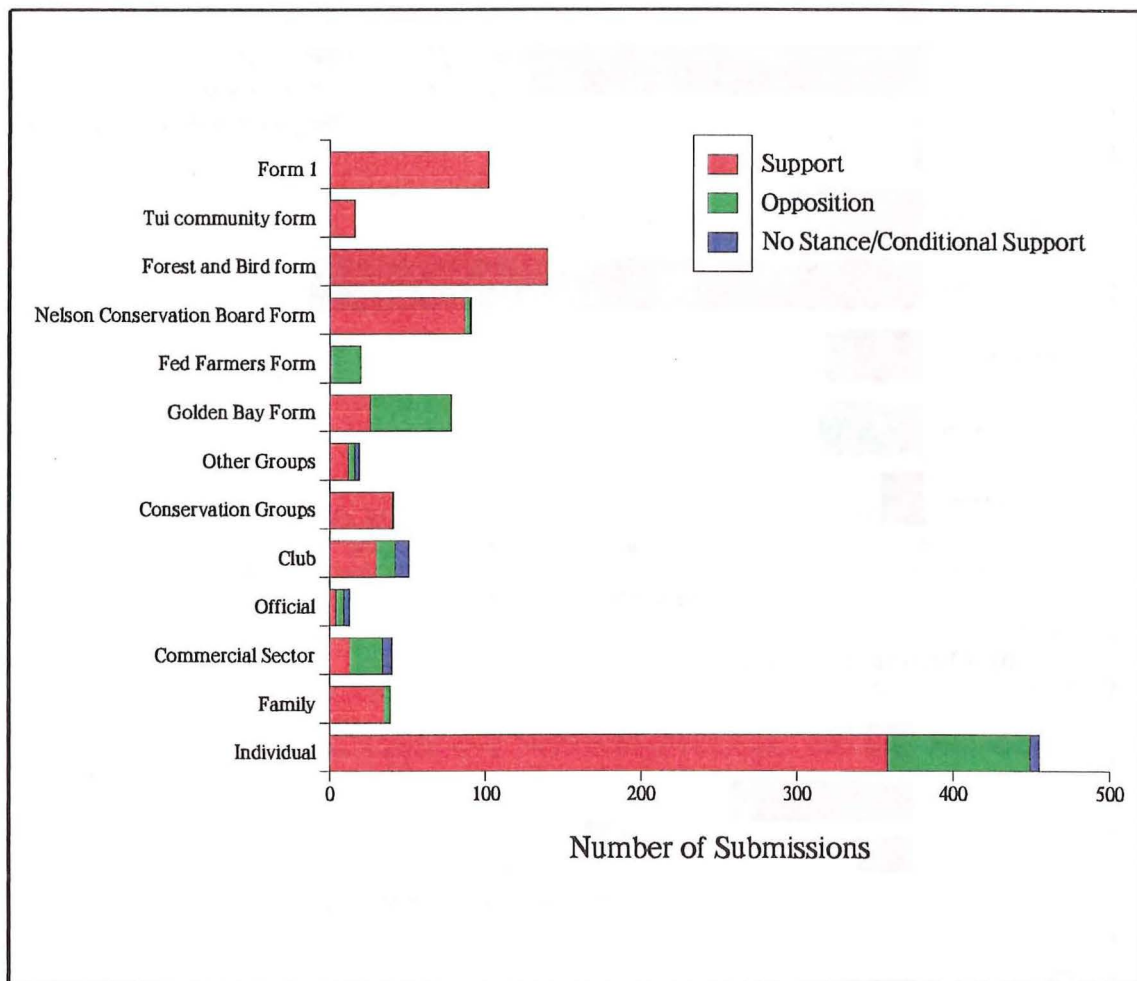


Fig 4.2 Support and opposition for the different group categories (NWSI investigation 1993).

The lowest levels of support were from commercial and official sectors and from Federated Farmers and Golden Bay forms. Clubs and other groups were in the middle, with higher levels of opposition than conservation groups but lower opposition than commercial or official sectors.

The submissions process is a simple mechanism for showing support and opposition to the creation of the park. However, what these submissions do not show is the numerous interests within a locality. Also there are many interests that are not confined by locality, such as recreational and commercial groups that are not represented to any degree by the regional submissions. Therefore the next sections seeks to show the numerous interests held towards the Kahurangi area.



### 4.3 Conflict of Interests

Landscape can be understood as an expression of human values and practices. "Our human landscape is our unwitting autobiography, reflecting our tastes, our values, our aspirations, and even our fears, in tangible, visible form" (Lewis in Meinig 1979: 12). "Values are a range of attitudes people have toward the perceived environment. Contestation occurs when there are different meanings between groups and individuals that compete for use of a landscape" (Ryan 1995: 15). What the DoC investigation did was to bring the values of groups and individuals towards the landscape into the open, creating a situation where their contests for use of the landscape was clear.

The conflict of interests regarding Kahurangi was larger than the creation of the Southwest native forests because of the 'new' type of park Kahurangi represented. The first factor was that it is close to a large population base of Nelson, Tasman and Buller. The total population in these regions was 93,312 all within 50 km of the parks boundaries (Department of Statistics 1996). Unlike the West Coast these people held numerous interests towards the park because of varying localities and numerous social differences.

The second factor was the area has a number of economic possibilities. The forest park contains areas of millable forest, significant mineral reserves and potential for hydro development (NWSI investigation 1993). The sheer size of the North West area means there are a plethora of recreational pursuits that can take place. There are many landscapes within the park from lowland forest to upland plateaus to mountain ranges which attract a number of activities (NWSI investigation 1993). With a large population surrounding it and long status as a forest park it has a well developed infrastructure in the form of roads and huts. This was a very popular area with a large number of interests.

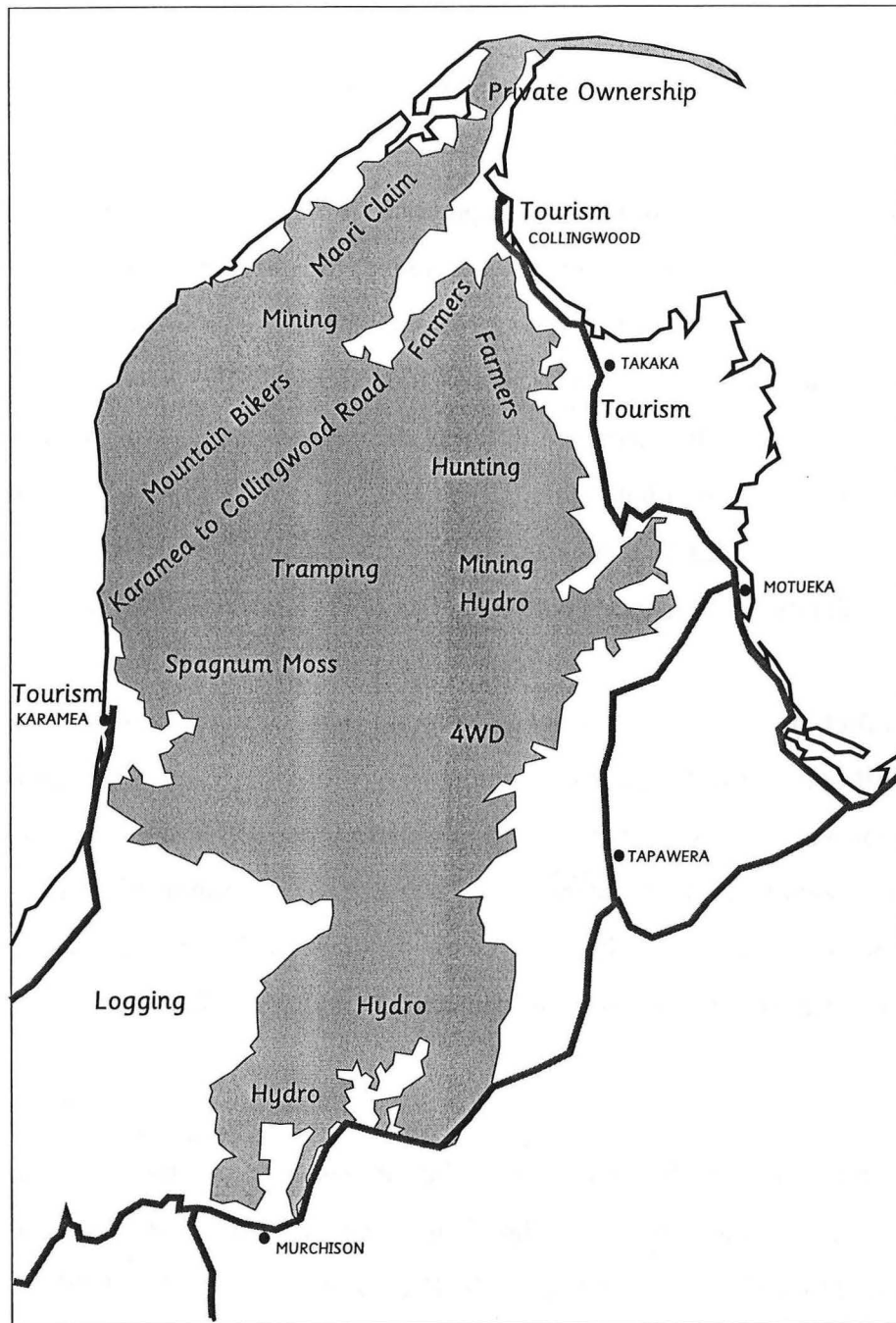


Fig 4.3 Reasons for conflict in the investigation area (Source: Author).

Throughout the fieldwork period interviews revealed numerous interests held and undertaken in the park (Fig 4.3). Individually detailing such a number of interests would be impossible therefore some grouping of interests is necessary. The groupings try to summarise the variety of interests expressed in the process. The groups are based on two types of shared interest, locality (place based) and , shared interest which cuts across locality. The rationale behind each of the groupings will be discussed when looking at each individually. These groupings can be seen in Fig 4.4.

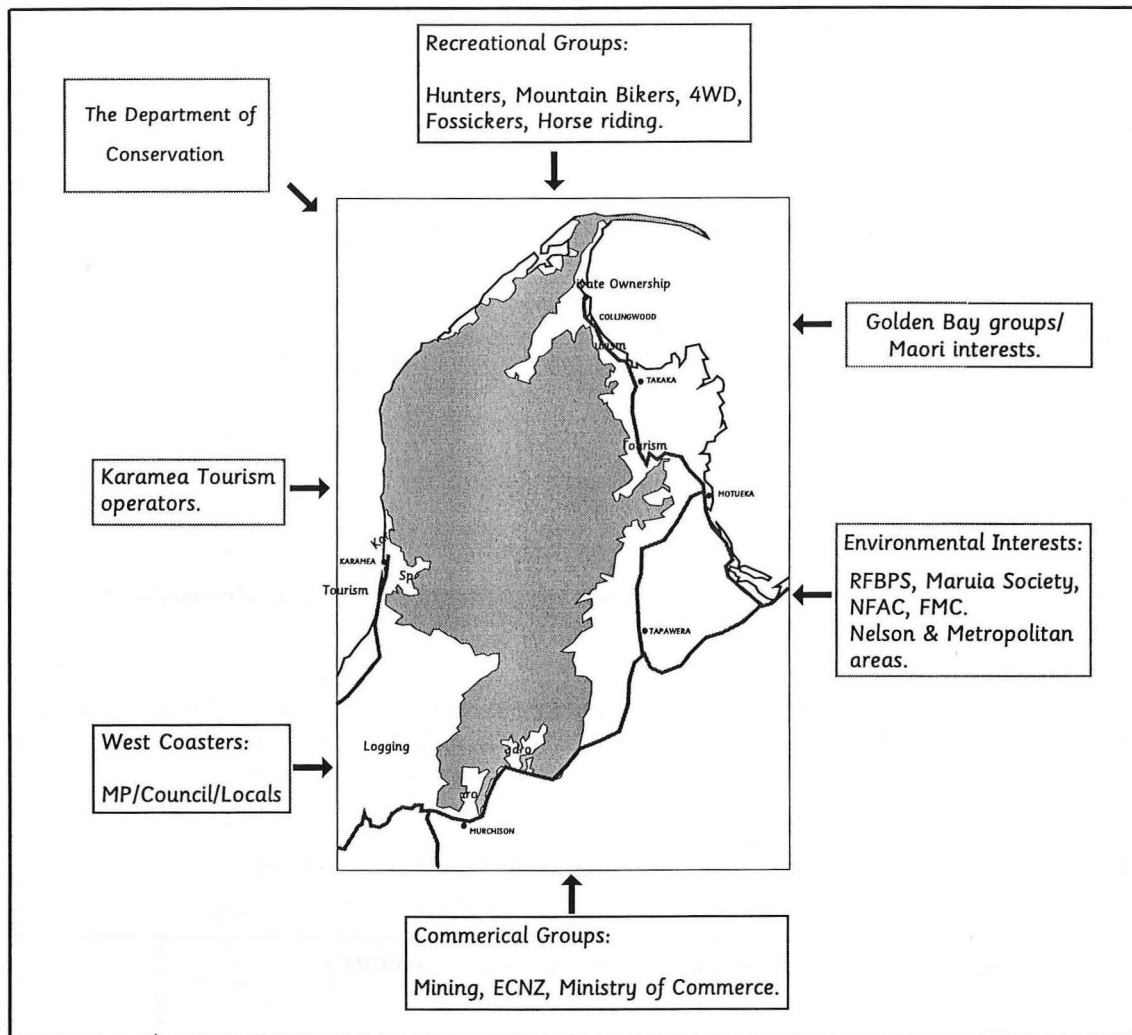


Fig 4.4 Interest Groups (Source: Author).

The method used in allocating these groupings was provided through qualitative interviews carried out in from January to March 1997 after the creation of the national park. These interviews were with key people identified during the investigation process by the DoC investigation report and the news media (Fig 4.5 also Appendix A and B). All had views towards the park and participated in the investigation process. The format is taken from Sewell and Mitchell who analysed the levels of policy involvement for different groups in a process (1984).

Decision Makers	Minister of Conservation: -Philip Woollaston, MP Nelson 1984-90 and Minister of Conservation 1989. -Nick Smith, MP Tasman 1990-96, MP Nelson 1996- and Minister of Conservation 1996.
Internal Advisors	DoC Management: Hugh Logan, Regional Conservator and Alan Peak, Advocacy.
Other Politicians	Damien O'Connor, MP West Coast. John Blincoe, MP Nelson, 1990-93.
Regional Leaders	Mayors: Philip Woollaston (Nelson), Kerry Marshall (Tasman) and Pat O'Dea (Buller).
Interest Groups	NZSDA, NZ Forest and Bird Society, Mauria Soceity, Federated Farmers, Federated Mountain Clubs, Nelson Development Board, Golden Bay Promotions, Motueka Community Board and Tourism Nelson.
General Public	Discussions with members of the public (see Appendix 3).

Fig 4.5 People interviewed during fieldwork (Source: Author).

#### 4.3.1 Recreational Groups

The interests of these groups were based on shared interest across locality. The organisations concerned represented people adversely affected by the creation of a national park. These were hunters, four wheel drivers, mountain bikers, fishers, horse riders, whitebaiters and dog owners. A number of these clubs wrote in submissions opposing the park because of the negative impact the change would have on their activity (NWSI investigation 1993: 74).

In chapter two the idea of who a national park served was discussed. It showed that, certain groups claimed the creation of national parks would serve the 'public' however, the reality was it only served certain groups pursuing their own consumption desires (Hays 1987).

20/7/91

## HUNTERS... FISHERMEN... WHITEBAITERS...

### DO YOU TRUST DOC?

While all responsible people are in favour of conservation, just how far should it extend?

How comfortable do you feel with the Department of Conservation's current ongoing investigations into local areas, such as the Little Whanganui Inlet, Waimea, Okiwi Bay and Wakapuaka areas, and now North West Nelson? Will you, as a resource user, be adversely affected?

Do you feel that DOC is heading away from a policy that allows the responsible multiple use of renewable resources in favour of one of total protection at all costs?

What do you feel DOC's reply would be to the following questions' if a new national park should come to fruition in North West Nelson:

- Will local hunters have to give up the recreational hunting area in north-west Nelson, which was recognised nationally as being of such importance as to warrant gazetting, and has had so many hours of work poured into it over the years?
- Do you believe the area would be excluded from any national park in the area?
- Would a properly organised game management scheme be allowed in such a park?
- If the recreational hunting area is taken from Nelson hunters will they be compensated?
- Will an alternative area be provided, and, if so where, and will it contain a reasonable population of animals?
- Will fishing for whitebait, which has been a major use of the waterways running into North West Nelson, be allowed to continue if, say the Paturau to Karamea area becomes a national park?
- Will fishing for eels and shellfish be allowed in such a park?
- Would the release of trout, in an area that they already inhabit, be allowed, if it were deemed necessary, to upgrade the fishing opportunities?
- Will the amount of money spent on doing an investigation, be a swaying factor in ultimately justifying a national park?

These are just some of the concerns of the Nelson Branch of the New Zealand Deerstalkers' Association, and we regret to say, that in the above cases, we would have to doubt, under existing DOC policies, that the answers would be likely to satisfy most local sportsmen and women.

If you are concerned about your interests, please attend the meeting called by the conservation board, to be held in the Victory Room Trafalgar Centre, Wednesday, July 24 at 7.30pm.

Don't allow DOC to press ahead with a national park investigation without answering your queries now.

F220071

Fig 4.6 Do you trust DoC?, Recreational mobilisation. (Nelson Evening Mail, 20 July 1991).

The same can be said for those people wanting to keep the area a forest park. Forest park status in New Zealand allows a more flexible range of activities to be carried out within an area. Under the national park status the range of activities that can be undertaken is drastically reduced. Like any other group they sought to protect their values in response to a threat to them. Their main defence against the creation of the park was on the grounds that the current status, of a forest park, allowed the protection of the area to a sufficient degree. Fig 4.6 illustrates this idea with a advertisement in the

Nelson paper urging recreational interests to voice their opinion at the investigation meeting. Their argument centred around the idea of multiple use in the conservation estate rather than just preservation.

"There is no balance in the DoC estate, preservation not recreational is dominating policy. They have forgotten that both preservation and recreational are accorded the same status in the Conservation Act" (Warren Plum, New Zealand Deerstalkers Association: pers.comm.).

"The Heaphy track is already heavily modified and designed for mountain bikes. Soon the only recreational pursuit you will be able to do on the DoC estate is walk" (Nelson Evening Mail 7 July 1991).

Both these quotes emphasise the disparity between preservation and recreation. The forest park allowed a much greater amount of recreational facilities which predominantly local people take advantage of. The creation of another national park on the West Coast and Nelson region means one less area for these recreational pursuits (Warren Plum NZDSA, pers.comm.). Nelson, now has three national parks (Kahurangi, Abel Tasman and Nelson Lakes) and only one forest park (Richmond) in its region. Recreational groups see DoC not balancing the conservation estate to best represent both local and national needs (Mike Horrell, Moteuka Community Development Board, pers.comm.).

#### **4.3.2 Golden Bay Groups**

Those opposed to the creation saw environmental groups, such as Forest and Bird, undermining local social and economic use of 'their' land. Work done by Scott (1989) on the West Coast saw Coasters as being powerless to control 'their' resources in the face of pressure from 'outside' forces. However, the situation is much different in the Golden Bay with the community divided over utilisation of resources.

Submissions reflect this division with 44% of people opposed and 54% support. Within the Golden Bay there is a perception, held by long term residents, that two types of people exist in the region with very different environmental values. There are the so-

called 'traditional' locals who pride themselves on balancing preservation within production thereby creating a balance. The other group are 'alternative' lifestylers (as perceived by locals) who see the creation of Kahurangi as complementary to the environmental values which are central to this 'alternative' lifestyle. These divisions are not visibly apparent, yet interviews with people showed this divergence in environmental values among the Golden Bay community.

The 'locals' are worried that their way of life is being corrupted by the 'alternative' lifestylers who are dedicated to keeping the area a 'sleepy hollow' stated one Golden Bay resident (pers.comm.). These people are a growing force in the area and have environmental values that can be broadly defined as ecocentrists. Ecocentrists believe "that materialism for its own sake is wrong and that economic growth can be geared to provide for the basic needs of those below subsistence levels". They emphasize "small scale (and hence community identity) in settlement, work, and leisure" (O'Riordon 1995: 7). Golden Bay appeals to this group due to its lack of development and isolation from the rest of the country (the only road being over the Takaka Hill). Eckersley's 'selfish class' theory describes those who have found social and economic wellbeing seeking to protect their environmental values by supporting the creation of the national park (1989). This assumption can be quantified using the submissions process where a group of submissions (16) came from the Tui Community, an alternative lifestyle village, in Golden Bay, all supporting the park's creation.

The greatest polarisation between the 'locals' and 'alternatives' was over the 'proposed' Karamea - Collingwood road. Under the National Park Act the creation of the road would be almost impossible. For local people the road is seen as the way to economic prosperity linking Golden Bay to the West Coast and thereby creating a tourist route that would positively impact on both localities. Resistance by the 'alternative' groups to this development is seen by locals as trying to preserve their "quiet existence" at the expense of the region. Many long term Golden Bay residents look at the Haast road and see the benefits it has made to the South Westland area and also Central Otago. Under forest park status the creation of the road would be more likely according to some Golden Bay residents (pers.comm.)

"People on wheels should have access to park. The green extremists were not the vast

majority in the area and the silent majority wanted to see the park open to all. We want access to the park so people can do things the extremists do not like, something other than backpacking and tramping" (Mike Horrell, Motueka Community Board Chairman, pers.comm.).

"The park is a local issue and nothing to do with the 'greens' in Auckland that are saving 'our' environment" (Paul Sangster, Golden Bay Promotions, pers.comm.).

The idea that local Crown land was the property, not of the nation but of the local region was a widely held notion. Collingwood craftsman Red Westrupp exemplified this notion with his low impact use of the park's resources before the change in status. Mr Westrupp milled dead and dying trees that had naturally fallen in the forest park's fringe areas and crafted them into furniture. National park status no longer permits this activity and wood workers have been denied an income along with gemstone polishers, sphagnum moss gatherers, gold fossickers and people involved in tourist operations. He stated that the change in status would have a large impact for a great number of local users:

"The majority of the use this park receives is 'informal' and the department [DoC] has no record of and therefore is not aware just how popular the margins of the proposed park are with local users. The area is already protected by the Conservation Act, Reserve Act, Mining Act, Resource Management Act, Forest Park Act, and Tasman District Council's district scheme" (Motueka- Golden Bay News, 15 September 1992: 6).

While Pearce's (1984) work relating to Westland National Park showed that the creation of national parks results in an increase in tourism revenue not all involved in the tourism industry supported the park's creation. Many tourism operators around the Golden Bay area were dependent of the revenues from pursuits that are not allowed under national park status. For them the change in status means a lot of activities they provide have become impossible. The owner of the Collingwood Motor camp opposed the park due to the loss of tourists with the proposed banning of mountain biking. Under national park status mountain bikes are not allowed within the park. According to Bill Climo, a former park ranger in the area and now owner of the motor camp,



mountain bikers provided a pivotal role in keeping the tourism industry "alive" during the winter:

"They provide the backbone of the winter tourism numbers and their loss will be felt sorely by the operators around the region. A change in designation will not bring greater numbers to the park because the main attraction [the Heaphy Track] is already being promoted as one of the 'Great Walks' promotion for the last couple of years"(pers.comm.).

#### 4.3.3 Tangata Whenua

Several iwi were involved in the park's creation due to the size of the park. DoC sought consultation with iwi from the beginning of the investigation and a hui was held at Whakatu Marae in April 1993. The meeting was attended by representatives from Ngai Tahu, Te Atiawa, Ngati Rarua and Ngati Tama and department staff from Nelson and the West Coast. The iwi supported the idea of the national park as preserving landscapes of pre-European history.

"It is with great aroha that I bring you the love of our people of Waitaha, and thank you and your hard working staff for the opportunity to present our feelings and thoughts to this very important proposal, where you as a Department hope to tie up this land again, into a National Inheritance for our mokopuna, our future New Zealand generations. This is an ancient Waitaha concept, therefore, how can we not support and tautoko your enterprising proposal?" ('Waitaha' 1992, submission).

While Maori supported the concept of a national park in the area they had concerns relating to title and sharing ownership. Like people in the Golden Bay the Maori cherished the Kahurangi landscape but wished to have greater control of the area.

Golden Bay iwi objected to the park until a full land title search into the acquisition of former Maori occupation reserves in the Northwest (especially the Taitapu area) have been completed and clear Crown title to those areas had been established. If such title was not established, they wanted these areas excluded from a national park. The areas excluded would be subject to a Treaty of Waitangi claim but if they were not successful

they would be incorporated into the park (Alan White, DoC, pers.comm.).

While supporting the concept, Maori seek the title of any national park in the area to be shared between Crown and tangata whenua. While under current legislation this is not possible the DoC compromise was a recommendation to "explore greater iwi involvement through the management planning process" (NWSI investigation 1993: 116). The tangata whenua's other concerns were continued access to traditional and spiritual resources available under forest park status. "Tangata whenua said that they are conservationists and respect conservation values, including threatened species, and therefore, they should be given greater trust" (NWSI investigation 1993: 117). It was also noted that the 1980 National Parks Act does not specifically take into account the Treaty of Waitangi principles and that a review of national park legislation is required.

#### 4.3.4 Commercial Interests

Commercial groups had a shared interest that cut across locality. They were represented by the Ministry of Commerce, various mining syndicates and ECNZ pushing for hydro development. These groups value the landscape because it contains a number of resources that can be used for production purposes. Using the O'Riordan model of basic environmental ideologies this group are seen as technocentrics believing that "humans can always find a way out of difficulties, either through politics, science, or technology. Economic growth and resource exploitation can continue indefinitely given a minimum level of environmental quality" (1995: 7). Under forest park status it was possible for hydro development, mining, forestry and other developments to occur as long as they complied with the Resource Management Act. Under national park status these developments are still possible, but it became far more difficult for them to receive approval.

The Ministry of Commerce provides an example of powerful opposition to national park status citing the large production possibilities within the area. The ministry looked at the impact of the park in terms of commercial opportunity with the change in status.

"The Ministry of Commerce considers that the proposal to change the land status of nearly half a million hectares of New Zealand will have significant economic impact.

The North West Nelson region is highly significant in terms of its minerals. It has a long, albeit intermittent, history of mining activity, and much potentially economic mineralisation remains in many parts of the proposal area. Significant potential for future hydro energy projects also exists within the area" (Ministry of Commerce 1993, submission).

Commercial groups were very active during the national park investigation process and one of their main weapons was the economic benefits of resource utilisation in the area. Their power lay in the ability to provide tangible benefits of mining in the area. One such claim was made by John Pfahler, the New Zealand Mineral Association director:

"Moves to establish a national park in North West Nelson are a blatant and cynical attempt to close the area to mineral exploration and development. John Pfahler said that one mine in the region could create 150 jobs and 70 million in export earnings, but the proposed National Park would effectively close the area to exploration (Nelson Evening Mail, 9 April 1992: 1).

Work done by Pawson and Scott (1992) show that this promise of jobs and money is a tactic used often. These promises seldom eventuate to the level promised. In one case there was the promise of a large number of jobs for the West Coast economy if a deep water harbour could be built. "A joint venture between New Zealand and Japanese partners to develop a deep, hydraulically operated coal mine at Raahow was formed in the mid 1980s; potentially it will employ over 300 miners. A report on Coast coal observed that its high quality thermal properties give great potential for sale to expanding Asian economies but that only construction of a deep water terminal... will [it] compete for large tonnage markets. But in a climate of state fiscal austerity there is no ready source for such infrastructure investment" (Pawson and Scott 1992: 381).

Commercial groups sought to oppose national park status but also to have areas excluded if national park status was to be permitted. This explains the concern of Macraes Mining about the Sam's Creek area.

"Macraes supports the principle of establishing national parks as a means of preserving the nation's heritage. Macraes has an interest in the mineral potential of an area lying on

the extreme North-East of the Park, in particular at Sam's Creek where exploration drilling has established large medium grade gold deposits. The development of Sam's Creek mineral potential will have a higher socio-economic value than will its inclusion into the National Park" (Macraes Mining 1993, submission).

#### 4.3.5 Environmental Interests

Environmental interests regarding Kahurangi can be spilt into active environmentalists and the sympathetic members of the public. Environmental groups value the Kahurangi landscape for the unique ecological values the area holds. As wilderness and natural areas become increasingly scarce, environmentalists have argued that the Kahurangi area has become nationally and internationally important. The main environmental groups within this conflict were Forest and Bird, Federated Mountain Clubs (FMC), and the Maruia Society. The goal of these groups is to promote the environmental values they hold by the continuing lobbying of the government to protect New Zealand's landscapes. Changes in the National Park Act in 1980 have made it possible to nominate "areas of New Zealand that contain scenery of such distinctive quality, ecological systems"(O'Riordon 1995).

"This place should have been a national park long ago. Over half of New Zealand's 2400 native plant species grow here, including 67 which are found nowhere else. The most that any other national park could muster would be a quarter. On top of that, 80 percent of all alpine plant species occur here" (Nelson Evening Mail, 10 May 1997).

While praising the ecological worth of the park environmentalists also sought to discredit traditional resource based development:

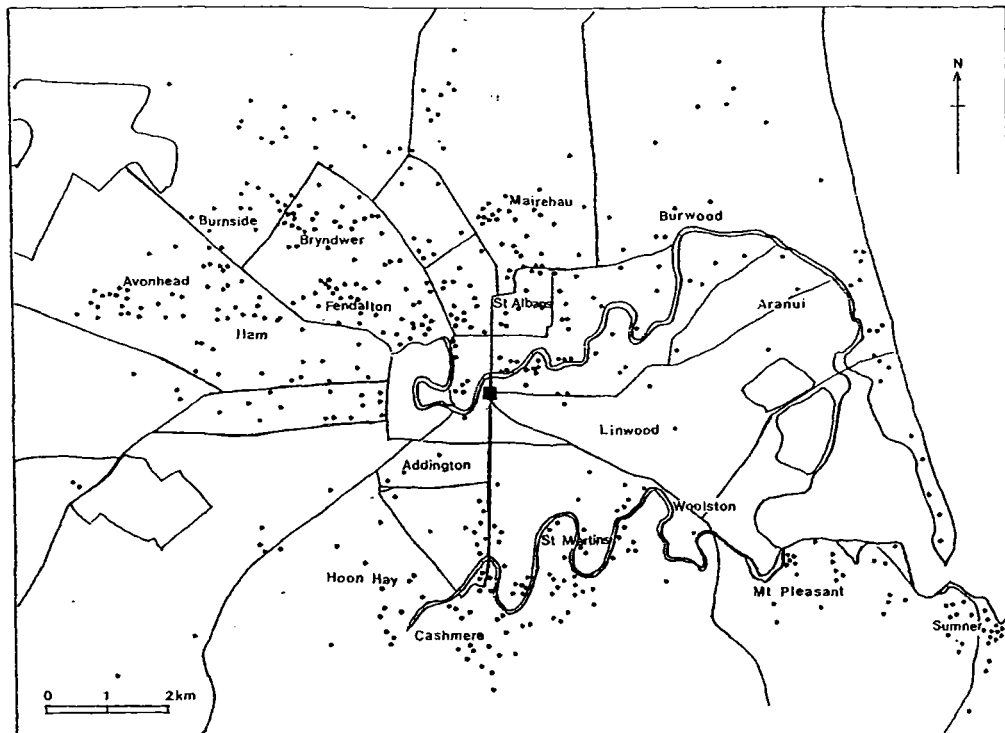
"We couldn't believe that this area, ranked as a state forest park since 1970 in recognition of its nationally and internationally significant ecological values, did not have significant protection to keep out mines, hydro developers, even Forest Service plans for huge exotic plantings" (Guy Salmon, Maruia Society, pers.comm.).

Because active environmentalists are relatively few, they find it necessary to elicit support from segments of the population. This support is in the form of passive

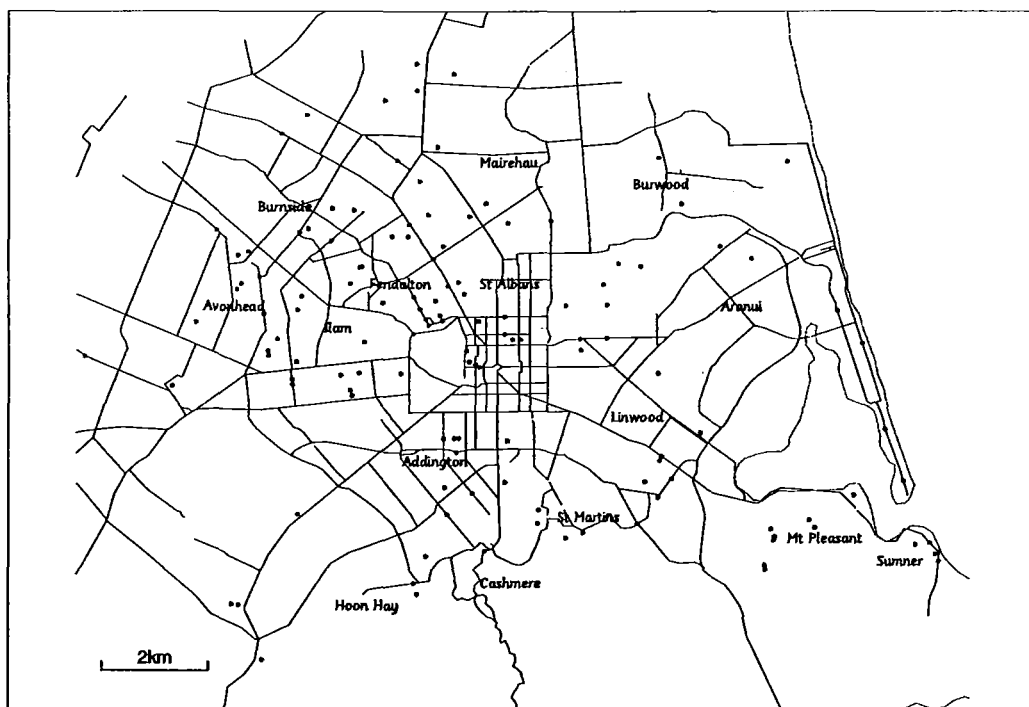
members of environmental groups and sympathetic members of the public, the 'new' middle class. Chapter three discussed how the new middle class provided the backbone for the creation of national parks (Eckersley 1988, Offe 1985 and Cotgrove 1982). These people according to O'Riordon's basic environmental ideologies are those who "profess environmental values in the form of appreciating the environment in terms of bird habitats, scenic quality and recreational opportunities rather than ecocentric perspectives of preservation for its own sake and the spiritual dimensions of wilderness" (1995: 7).

Regarding submissions from metropolitan areas, by far the greatest number outside the West Coast and Nelson/Marlborough regions came from Christchurch and its hinterland. These numbers were boosted by a Forest and Bird campaign in this area which resulted in 103 North Canterbury Forest and Bird forms. These handwritten submissions accounted for 47% of Christchurch submissions. Submissions from Christchurch individuals, whether using these forms or not, gave 100% support for a national park (NWSI investigation 1993).

In 1989 Scott looked at the spatial composition of public submissions regarding the South Westland native forests. Looking at Christchurch he plotted who wrote a submission supporting preservation and using the submissions for Kahurangi the same analysis was made to allow comparison (Fig 4.7). However, what must be noted is the difference in the number of submissions. In 1989 Scott plotted 480 submissions whereas for Kahurangi there were only 215 in the entire Canterbury area. This must be taken into account when comparing the two maps. Nevertheless in spatially comparing where the submissions originated from, the similarity between the two appears very close. Anyone familiar with Christchurch would immediately notice that the spatial distribution of public submissions, in both investigations, appears to be clustered in middle class suburbs with a lack of submissions from working class areas. This observation is given added weight with Fig 4.8 and 4.9 which looks at income and education identifying the middle class suburbs within Christchurch.



Distribution of support for the South West World Heritage Area in Christchurch, 1987.



Distribution of support for Kahurangi National Park, 1993.

Fig 4.7 Distribution of Christchurch submissions: South West New Zealand, 1987 and Kahurangi National Park 1993 (South West New Zealand data from Scott 1989 and Kahurangi, Source: Author).

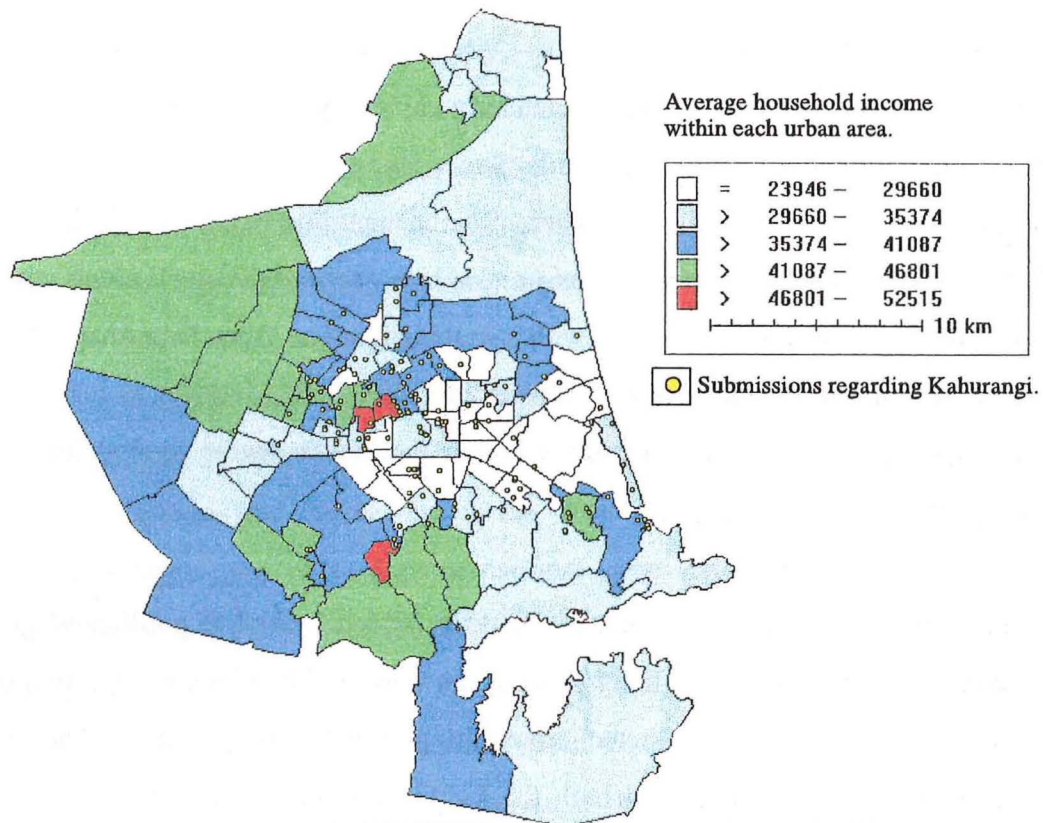


Fig 4.8 Kahurangi Submissions superimposed over Average Household Income of Christchurch Urban Areas (Source: Supermap and Author).

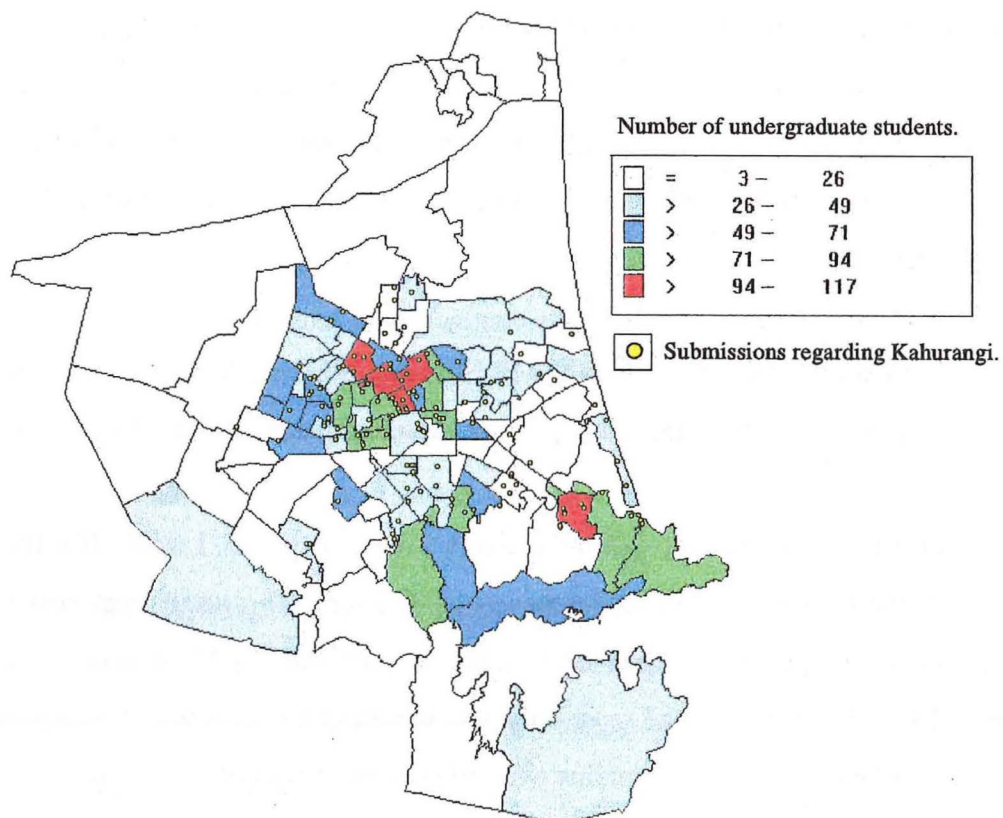


Fig 4.9 Kahurangi Submissions superimposed over number of Undergraduate Students in Christchurch Urban Areas (Source: Supermap and Author).

The method used for Fig 4.7 and 4.8 was a combination of using Arch Information and Supermap. Using Arch Info address matching capability to read in a text file stating street number (eg 1,3,7) name (eg Smiths Street) and type (eg Avenue, Lane, Street) it was possible to plot the Christchurch submissions regarding Kahurangi. This produced a set of points which was exported into a graphics package (Vector), along with road centre lines. this was then matched with a graphical output from Supermap 2.0, 1991. The information used was Average Household Income with average as the mean and percentage of the population in each area unit that has a degree in the Christchurch urban area.

Chapter three discussed the greening of politics which looked at politicians' growing support of preservation due to the growth of the 'new' middle class. For the proposal to create Kahurangi, politicians acted either on personal convictions or that of their constituents at the national level both the Labour and National party supporting the creation of the park with Labour initiating the investigation in 1989 and National continuing it after the 1990 election. At the local level politicians on the Nelson/Golden Bay side were supportive from its inception.

"In every area of public life there are competing philosophies, conservation has won in the public mind and therefore we follow too" (John Blincoe, Nelson MP 1990-6, pers.comm.).

As Nick Smith (MP Tasman 1990-6, MP Nelson 1996- and Minister of Conservation 1996-) said regarding the park in his maiden speech to parliament in 1990:

"Before the next Member for Tasman delivers a maiden speech, I would like there to be a third National Park [in the constituency of Tasman). The north-west corner of the electorate encompasses an area of exceptional character held in public estate. Its physical features compose the most complete record of the geological progression that has formed New Zealand. It contains over 50 species of flora that exist nowhere else in the world, this being a consequence of the area being a plant refuge during the most recent Ice Age.... For these reasons, I commend to this House the establishment of a North-West Nelson National Park" (Nick Smith 1990: 6).



#### 4.3.6 West Coast

Most West Coasters were against the creation of Kahurangi National Park. While this may be seen as a generalization both the interviews and submissions process showed that this was the area with the most opposition to the park.

In analysing the submissions relatively few submissions came from the West Coast (87 in total, including 37 from Westport and 15 from Karamea (NWSI investigation 1993). The small response was due in part to the West Coast being successful in initially excluding a large area of land from national park status before the investigation occurred. In the early proposals the 120,000ha of land in the south west corner of the park including the Buller coalfields was excluded after a large noisy public meeting in Westport in 1991 (Hindmarsh 1995 and Alan Peak, DoC, pers.comm.). This may account for the small number of submissions as most West Coasters saw this initial exclusion, before the investigation process, as their major victory.

For the people in the Buller region opposition still centres around the notion that the state, under the guise of conservation is threatening the area's way of life. The history of the West Coast has been dominated by exploitation of natural resources. From an isolated region with a remarkable degree of local autonomy, the West Coast progressed from a region centred around mining, forestry and farming, experiencing relative prosperity, to a region affected by global and national restructuring (Pawson and Scott 1992: 375-377). This has seen a decommercialisation of traditional resource utilisation. Therefore any move to 'lock up' more land into the national park estate is seen as destroying the traditional economy and prosperity of the West Coast.

"New Zealand is struggling for economic survival. It has massive debt, can't fund education, health, welfare, yet we continue to lock up significant areas of land from development. The creation of Kahurangi is nothing short of criminal " (Pat O'Dea, Buller Mayor, pers.comm.).

While mining and forestry have slowly become unviable on the West Coast they still provide the backbone of the Buller community. These types of jobs usually involve young men with families and therefore any loss of these jobs affects this small economy

(Damien O'Connor West Coast MP, pers.comm.).

"The risks are minimal for the environmentalists if they lose, they just don't get a place to tramp. Yet for small communities dependent on forestry, mining and potential power schemes they stand to lose their livelihood. It may only mean a few hundred jobs but the flow on effects are enormous. (Damien O'Connor, pers.comm)

While government departments have historically played a major part on the West Coast in health, education and welfare these have all been reduced as a result of restructuring (Pearce and Balcar 1996). Conversely DoC is perceived by West Coasters to have grown in power, in the form of greater restrictions on land use, without contributing to the economy (pers.comm). Funding is a major issue and like other government departments DoC is not a huge employer on the West Coast due to its low funding priority in the eyes of central government. One Westport resident stated that in the Buller region DoC controls 80% of the land without significantly benefiting the area in jobs or tourism revenue gained from the protection of the land (pers.comm).

The justification that tourism would provide a sufficient incentive to offset any economic developments caused by the creation of the park was poorly received. In the NWSI document it stated that one of the major benefits was the potential of tourism to replace jobs lost due to the change in status. "It is likely that a national park would result in increased tourism because of the increased prestige of a national park". (NWSI Investigation 1993: 114). With this appraisal it seems logical that the tourism industry would support the creation of Kahurangi however, this was not the case.

"The West Coast Tourism Council, along with the vast majority of the New Zealand visitor industry is of the opinion that the DoC is grossly under resourced. It is being asked to do more and more with less and less. The Department out of necessity is already cutting corners. It is unable to fully meet what we believe are its obligations in respect of existing national parks'. Therefore we oppose the creation of a new park because it will spread available resources even more thinly" (West Coast Tourism Council 1993, submission).

West Coasters also believe that they are already practising conservationists and resent

the accusation that the forests have to be protected. Many of those interviewed stated that using the land on the West Coast does not mean destroying it:

"The land is a gift from a benevolent creator. People have been given the task of being stewards of the land and if everyone recognises the gift then nothing is wrong. However, the purpose of the land is not to look at it, but to use it. Conservationists think using the land means destroying it, this is not true" (Jim O'Regan, Buller District Council, pers.comm.).

Perhaps an indication of the level of latent opposition on the West Coast occurred in Karamea when the author talked to a couple of residents informally about the creation of the park. Their attitude was total abhorrence for DoC and protected areas and therefore they chose to ignore statutes and laws made to protect flora and fauna. The idea that people in the region should be free to use the area's resources is what Kirby (1997) calls the "individualist attitude of the Coast".

One West Coaster exemplified this idea stating:

"When they [DoC] made the area a national park it meant no difference to us. We will continue using our resources the way we want to and DoC can't do anything about it because they ain't got the people to police it" (pers.comm.).

#### **4.3.7 Karamea Tourism Operators**

This was one of the only areas on the West Coast where submissions were more in favour of the park than against. Eighty percent of the 15 Karamea submissions supported the proposals and many of these supporters were from the tourism sector. On first impression this appears to dispel the idea of the West Coast being against the creation of the park. However, this was one of the only areas that would benefit from the growth of tourism due to its proximity to the park's major exit point, the Heaphy Track. Pearce (1984), looking at Westland National Park, showed that tourism could be a viable economic rationale for the preservation of landscapes. People who saw the most benefits were those within and around the Westland National Park and the effects decreased markedly with distance.

One tourism operator in the Karamea region who didn't wish to be named stated that his support of the park was for purely selfish motives and acknowledged that the park disadvantaged a great many members of his community:

"The more people that come to the park the better for my business. Yet for the community as a whole the positive affects of the park won't be a hell of a lot" (pers.comm.).

The other area on the West Coast where submissions were in favour of the park was south of Greymouth. There were relatively few submissions from this distant area of the Coast.

#### **4.3.8 The Department of Conservation**

Under the terms of the 1987 Conservation Act the department was given criteria to assess the suitability of an area for national park status.

"Areas recommended for national park status must contain, for their intrinsic worth and for the benefit, use and enjoyment of the public, some or all of the following:

(a) scenery of such distinctive quality that its preservation is in the national interest; and/or

(b) ecological systems so unique or scientifically important that their preservation is in the national interest; and/or

(c) natural features so beautiful, unique or scientifically important that their preservation is in the national interest". (DoC investigation report 1993: 49).

In discussions Hugh Logan (Regional Conservator) and Alan White (Manager) stated that DoC appraisal of the area is dictated by these criteria (pers.comm). Evidence in the investigation report about the suitability of the park suggests they had no trouble qualifying the area as worthy of national park status.

"Kahurangi is the jewel in the conservation estate crown. If we had to wipe the national park slate clean and pick them all over again, with all the facts in front of us, Fiordland would be our number one choice and Kahurangi second" (Hugh Logan, DoC, pers.comm.).

The investigation report abounds with superlative appraisals of the area's natural values:

"The northwest contains mountains and plunging gorges, massive rivers, spectacular waterfalls and tall cliffs; scenery found in many other parks, although not in such variety... The ecosystems of the area are tremendously diverse. Far more variety is found here than in any other park or reserve in New Zealand. The area has a high biological and genetic diversity on a national scale. The key to the diversity is the area's complex geological history and its variation in landform, geology and climate, often variable over small areas... (NWSI investigation 1993: 49-57).

"The geology of the area tells much about the early history of life on Earth. The complex fault systems and seismic activities along with the presence of very old rocks suggests it has a role to play in understanding the movements of ancient continents. Because of the area's biogeographic importance and importance for the study of the flora and fauna, the area has a major role to play in the study of species over many ages and is now an important centre of distribution for many genera. Therefore, the area is considered to have national and international importance in biogeographic terms" (NWSI investigation 1993: 62).

#### 4.4 Summary

There were many groups and individuals who value the Kahurangi landscape because of the benefits it holds for them. Should the area be used for its natural and recreational resources or be protected from the influence of people? Conflict arises when these views are pitted against each other and a decision needs to be made supporting one interpretation rather than the other. Which views would prevail? This question and its answer was the responsibility of the DoC and how these different groups manipulated

the policy process to their interests. Chapter five takes these ideas and looks at how the groups expressed themselves within the process. The outcome of this process was the result of DoCs management of the investigation process and the ways in which these different groups used it to advance their interests.

# Chapter Five

## Policy process

### 5.1 Introduction

"Environmental politics is undeniably value driven" (Scott 1989: 82). This chapter looks at how the conflict of interests discussed in chapter four manifested themselves in, and altered the outcome of, the policy process. Decisions affecting environmental resources grow out of the political process. This process involves groups struggling to have their interests expressed and served.

Before analysis of the environmental politics of Kahurangi, it is necessary to look at the DoC investigation process to understand the parameters within which the conflict was set. Under Section 8 of the Conservation Act 1987 an investigation of a national park is done to a standardised formula. However, this process has positives and negatives which affect groups seeking to use it. The environment is relegated behind political and economic considerations in the creation of the park. The process of DoC's investigation and public participation inherently benefit certain groups who are able to manipulate the process. Therefore, the first section of this chapter looks at how numerous groups participated in, reacted against, or felt powerless in, the process. The second section looks at DoC's own assessment of the park and shows their bias towards preservation expressed in the discussion documents.

This chapter is based on analysis of the two North West South Island National Park discussion documents, of 1992 and 1993. However, more importantly interviews with key people, identified in the process, provide the substance of the argument.

### 5.2 The Kahurangi Policy Process

Representations to the Minister of Conservation by the public led to a formal national park investigation as set out in Section 8 of the National Parks Act 1980. The Minister took the first step in that formal process in October 1990 when he asked the New

Zealand Conservation Authority to consider initiating an investigation:

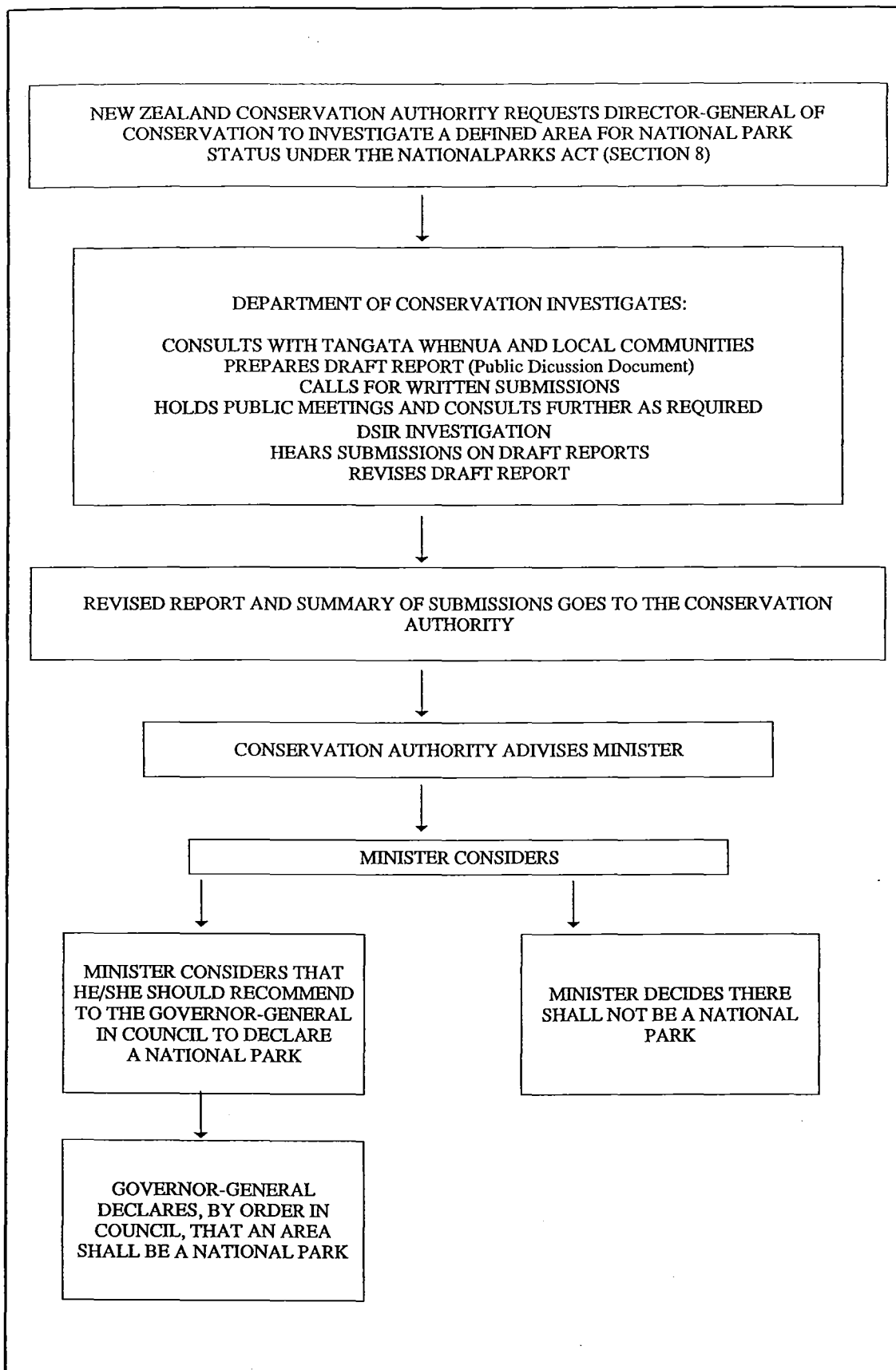


Fig 5.1 Flow diagram of this national park investigation process (adapted from NWSI investigation 1993: 5).



"In response to a request from the New Zealand conservation authority the Director-General of Conservation has investigated a proposal to create a national park in the north-west of the South Island" (NWSI investigation 1993: 2). Fig 5.1 illustrates the national park investigation process.

Impetus for this investigation came from people who wanted the area's natural values recognised and given the highest possible protection. To aid its decision on whether an investigation should occur and to set the scope of any investigation, the conservation authority held public meetings with local communities and inspected the area shown in Fig 1.1. "The main aim of the investigation is to assess whether national park status is more appropriate than the current protection" (NWSI investigation 1993:4). This required an assessment of the area's natural values and the socio-economic analysis of the investigation area. The first report (August 1992) was intended to present the issues as objectively as possible. Consultation with tangata whenua and local communities accompanied the preparation of that document so that their perspectives were taken into account. The document provided a basis for further consultation by supplying information on the investigation area and clearly identifying issues. There was a twelve week submission period for public comment. The second report (July 1993) contained those submissions.

"Wide public involvement was important to ensure that the best decisions on how to manage the Northwest South Island are made" (NWSI investigation 1993: 63). After assessing the natural values of the area under the national parks criteria and considering the submissions, the Director-General of Conservation recommends national park status for a defined area of the North West (Fig 1.1). After consideration the Minister of Conservation announced the creation of the park in 1995 with the boundaries that were recommended to him by the Director-General.

In July 1991 the Conservation Authority held meetings at Nelson, Takaka, Motueka, Westport and Karamea. Also a Hui was held at St Arnaud. Kaumatua from Ngai Tahu and Te Runangaui o Te Tau Ihu o Te Waka a Maui were present. These meetings were to see if an investigation was necessary and if so, to set its scope and boundaries.

The second series of meetings was held by the DoC in April/May 1992 in Nelson (Fig

5.2), Motueka, Takaka, Collingwood, Murchison, Karamaea and Westport "to make sure the department was aware of important local issues" Some communities showed more support for a national park than others. Generally, West Coast settlements were opposed to a national park" (NWSI investigation 1993: 63).

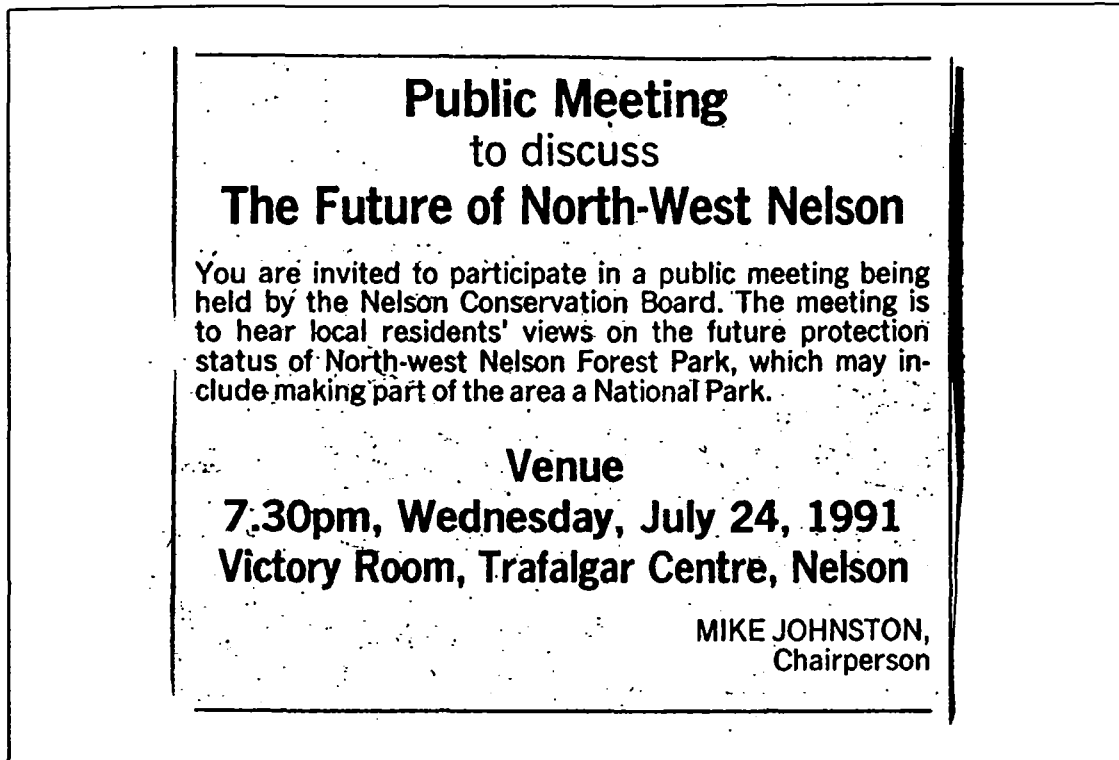


Fig 5.2 Advertisement to announce investigation meeting (Nelson Evening Mail 23-7-91).

### 5.3 Manipulation of the Process

This section seeks to look at how the DoC investigation and the numerous interest groups in chapter four best used the investigation process. Throughout the investigation different participants targeted those parts of the process that best suited their strengths. The main areas of the investigation that lent themselves to manipulation were (1) political, (2) economic, (3) public participation, and (4) decision making. However, some groups felt powerless and reacted against the process due to their lack of political and economic influence.

#### 5.3.1 Political

The investigation was subjected to political interference throughout. Politicians, particularly the Minister of Conservation, had a huge impact on the parks future and its

scope. It was environmental groups that best utilised the political vulnerability of the system to fulfil their aspirations.

The initial investigation of the park was brought about by lobbying from environmental groups in Nelson, particularly Forest and Bird and the Maruia Society. Guy Salmon, president of the Maruia Society, stated how they made Kahurangi a political issue:

"In 1990 Tasman was a marginal electorate that we targeted. Both candidates Nick Smith (the National challenger) and Ken Shirley (the Labour incumbent) sought the environmental vote and contacted us about policies which we considered our major aims. Both knew the park was our main goal for the area and therefore both supported it. The Minister of Conservation and MP for Nelson at the time, Philip Woollaston (a past member of the Maruia Society), had asked for the area to be investigated and the support of both Tasman candidates added strength to this". Salmon goes on to say that "the whole investigation was a foregone conclusion once we had a commitment at the political level" (pers.comm.)

This situation is very similar to the South Westland World Heritage area with environmental groups targeting politicians at a national level and securing their support (Scott 1989: 85). "Before the process was even properly underway, national forces were already undermining the local level effort to reach a consensus decision. 1987 was an election year. The National party opposition had decided to support forest preservation south of the Cook River as part of its policy on the environment". In that case also Guy Salmon perceived the victory to be assured once this political support was gained. "Guy Salmon chose to vacate his position on the Working Party at an early stage, citing the National Party's support for forest preservation (Labour already supported it) guaranteeing success" (1989: 88).

The power of the environmental vote has an effect on the politicians' decision regarding Kahurangi. Those opposing the park therefore saw its creation as nothing more than a cheap electoral stunt designed to win the votes of the "cities' middle class" states the West Coast MP, Damien O'Connor "The creation of the park was blatant politics. The National Government saw environmental votes in its creation. Evidence of this can be seen in no new funding for the park" (pers.comm.).

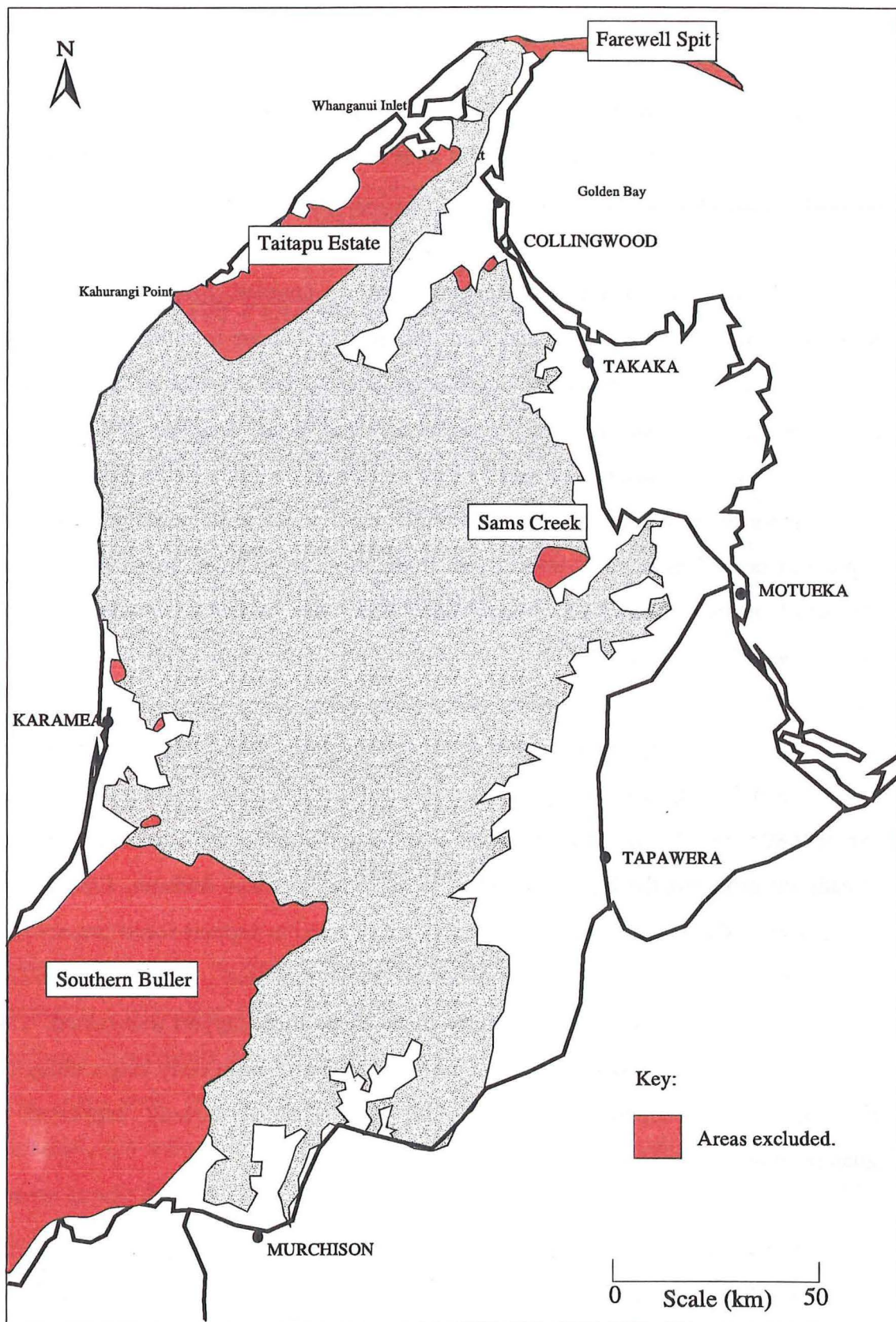


Fig 5.3 Major areas included in the investigation but subsequently excluded from Kahurangi National Park (adapted from NWSI investigation 1993).

This notion of politics was further emphasised by John Blincoe (Labour, Nelson MP 1990-6) "It would be naive to think that the national government created the park purely for environmental reasons. The votes that these policies gain are a huge influence" (pers.comm.).

The issue of funding raises a valid point regarding the real intention of politicians to preserve the New Zealand landscape. Unlike the creation of Paparoa and Westland National Parks the government did not target any direct funds to the creation of the park or its development to any degree (eg infrastructure and tourism). Rendall looked at the Paparoa National Park investigation and identified 'the deal' as solving conflict of interests regarding those opposed to its creation. Deals were made in the Paparoa case to diffuse opposition groups who stated that just the creation of the park would not create jobs without additional funding. In response the government stated that they would give a 600,000 dollar grant to aid tourism and development in order to diffuse this complaint (Rendall 1995: 340).

In the case of Kahurangi no such deal was offered. The reason for this appears to be the growing influence of the environmental groups in New Zealand society. The need to appease those against preservation, in the form of compensatory packages, has gone as their political and social influence has declined. The deal that can be identified was the exclusion of a large area of the park initially excluded from the investigation area, because in the words of a DoC official, it was not "winnable". The deal came in the form of exclusion of an area of the park without losing the integrity of the whole proposal. "By putting an issue in the too hard currently box, you are forcing future decision-makers to deal with the issue. Politically, this may be astute, as politics is concerned about short-term problems. In the long term, unsolved problems may become festering sores with potential for further conflict" (Rendall 1995: 341).

The reason for the exclusion was due to public uproar on the West Coast creating political pressure. The first meeting held by DoC during the investigation process, in July 1991 in Westport, was met by almost total condemnation of the initial park boundaries. Included was 160,000 ha in the southwest corner of the park including the Buller Coalfields (Fig 5.3). While Forest and Bird and the Maruia Society believed this area contained the same qualities as the rest of the area it was excluded simply because

it would have been politically risky to support such a large park. DoC believed that if this area had been included in the investigation area the uproar from the West Coast would have been enormous and maybe the park would have been rejected due to the political situation on the West Coast (Alan Peak, DoC, pers.comm.).

Yet in 1991 the Nelson paper reported that: "the Conservation Authority did not bow to political pressure in its call for a restricted national park investigation in the Northwest states South Island protected lands chairman David Thorn. He responded to a claim made by Maruia Society director Guy Salmon that the authority had caved in to West Coast political pressure in excluding such a large area. Guy Salmon was appalled that the authority had excluded huge and valuable areas in southern Buller and given no reason for doing so. Mr Thorn stated that the authority had taken into account the concerns of the West Coast people and had made its decision on cost and conservation grounds. We are not political people. We have consulted widely, listened and thought about it and taken note of the concerns, but I don't think that is being political. He went on to state that in the future the area could be assessed however, at this time it was too costly and complex" (Nelson Evening Mail 21 August 1991).

Yet it was precisely because of this political pressure that DoC excluded the area. The area qualified for national park status with the flora and fauna being the same standard as the areas that were included. The reason for its exclusion was in their own words "too costly and complex". The complexity lay in the fact that Margaret Moir, the newly elected National MP for the West Coast, in 1990, had to appease her constituents by having this area excluded. With the Minister of Conservation, Denis Marshall in the same party the exclusion was a political decision to preserve a National candidate in a traditionally Labour stronghold.

For Golden Bay iwi the objection to the inclusion of the Taitapu estate in the national park resulted in the area being excluded due to treaty obligations. DoC had in the 1993 report recommended the area for inclusion due to its natural values. "Despite past modification from logging in some areas, the whole area has very high existing and potential natural values warranting national park status. Those values include nationally important freshwater habitats, high scenic values, native lands snails, lowland and coastal forest and regenerating mature forest" (NWSI investigation 1993: 138).

Yet despite this recommendation the Minister of Conservation in 1993, Denis Marshall had to exclude the area because of treaty obligations. The reason for this was DoC could not establish legitimacy of Crown title to the Taitapu estate (Fig 5.3).. Therefore under the Treaty of Waitangi the area was excluded pending a claim from its former owners. This is another example of political pressure in the form of government obligation to the indigenous population before the department's recommendation.

### 5.3.2 Economic

"DoC is still powerless in the face of opposition in the form of numbers and money. The boundaries were arranged so the park only included areas that were economically worthless" (Guy Salmon, Mauria Society, pers.comm.).

The economic motive for exclusion is something that has dominated national park creation from its birth (Runte 1979, Rainbow 1993). Commercial groups had a powerful ally in the Ministry of Commerce who centred their argument around government policy:

"The proposal to change the land status of nearly half a million hectares of New Zealand will have significant economic impacts, and thus the North West Nelson investigation must take into account the overall economic and social objectives of Government. The government sees sustained growth in incomes and employment as offering the best way to improve the living standards of New Zealanders. It has consistently identified the generation of jobs in a growing economy as a major task facing the country, and as one of its highest policy priorities. To succeed, New Zealand must be outward looking, and it needs to act to remove constraints to economic development which will provide economic growth and jobs. The over-riding problem with this proposal for the Ministry of Commerce is that national park status acts as a de facto closure of an area to many commercial activities. The fact that national parks are effectively closed to mining removes any incentive for the industry to commit funds to expensive exploration programmes, since there is no realistic prospect of developing any mineral deposits which may be found". (Ministry of Commerce 1993, submission).

Therefore government economic policy is geared towards the exploitation of resources and preservation is seen as constraining development. DoC acknowledges this and by the time of creation, some 60 areas totalling 20,000 hectares had been excluded to allow for existing uses around the edge of the park, or for various other reasons.

Examples of existing uses include grazing leases, ECNZ's hydro operations, sphagnum moss gathering and small mining operations, Farewell Spit was excluded because it was already highly protected and was not contiguous with the rest of the park (Hindmarsh 1995: 112-114). When this is added to the 120,000 ha in the South West corner that was initially excluded, the amount excluded is significant.

Sam's Creek is one example of an area excluded from the national park due to the area's mineral wealth. Macraes Mining submission gives credence to the Ministry of Commerce claim about the benefits of commercial enterprises:

"A preliminary economic assessment of the Sam's Creek deposit indicates that the resource would pay income tax in excess of \$60 million over the mine life. These first and second tier taxes have present value of \$33 million. If a mine was established at Sam's Creek clearly it would contribute to the local and regional economy, by providing employment and by using goods and services, as has occurred in Otago [site of Macraes other New Zealand mine]. Both Takaka and Motueka would benefit, since both, like much of New Zealand, have experienced significant levels of unemployment over the past few years" (Macraes Mining 1993, submission).

They backed this impressive economic rationale with a bland description of the natural values of the area. After a discussion of Walker's, 1987 New Zealand Wildlife Service review the report states "Therefore Sam's Creek vegetation would appear to be similar to most of the remaining area of North-West Nelson; no particular important or unusual botanical habitats are present, and no rare or noteworthy species were identified during the 1984 field survey of the immediate prospecting area" (Macraes Mining 1993, submission).

DoC agreed with this finding and their recommendation for the area was that it should "exclude a defined area at Sam's Creek from a national park". The department had



carried out site investigations for the prospecting area (Fig 5.3). It concluded that there were no outstanding natural values in that area which would warrant national park status on its own (NWSI investigation 1993: 142).

Yet this summation was not met with agreement by environmental groups. "It is not appropriate to have this kind of development on the park's front door", said Forest and Bird's regional field officer Eugenie Sage: "Extraction of a least five million tonnes of ore would involve huge tailing dumps, forest clearance, landscape scarring and possible leaching into the Takaka River, a delicately poised system that feeds Puppu Springs, site of the world's clearest fresh water" (Hindmarsh 1995: 112).

A spokesperson for Forest and Bird, Kevin Smith stated "It looks like the department has been influenced by economic factors. The Conservation Minister Denis Marshall obviously wanted a mine to go ahead in the area and the department obliged by leaving the area outside of recommended national park boundaries" (The Independent. October 1992: 9).

Guy Salmon states that it was "convenient that this area was found to have no outstanding natural values on its own and this same logic could be applied to all areas of the park". It was the ecological integrity of such a large area that made this park special, not individual areas. He went on to say that it would have been better for the DoC to admit they excluded the area because of its commercial value rather than saying it had no outstanding values (pers.comm.).

How environmental groups reacted regarding Sam's Creek provides evidence of the differing views towards the preservation of the environment. In chapter four, environmental groups were presented as a monolithic group which sought national park status for the area. Yet the environmental groups involved in Kahurangi all held different notions as to the best way to participate in the process. Two of the major groups involved, Forest and Bird and the Maruia Society held quite divergent notions as to the best way to negotiate and participate in the investigation process. While preservation of the environment is the goal of both groups the way they achieve this is very different.

The Royal Forest and Bird Society throughout the debate stood firm that the area should receive the greatest protection possible. They saw the total protection for the national good as the "primary goal of Forest and Bird" (Gerry McSweeney, former director, pers.comm.). While the term national good is meant to imply the population of New Zealand, the membership of environmental movements means their policies only serve the 'new' middle class. The idea of total preservation held by the Forest and Bird is not subject to negotiation and therefore they were not prepared to compromise on this goal. Regarding local communities the Society sees the national good of preservation subsuming all employment and recreational restrictions the park may impact on the area affected. For example the Society seeks the destruction of all introduced noxious animals that destroy indigenous fauna and flora such as deer, possums, stoats and weasels. For groups, such as deer hunters this idea would destroy "a recreational pursuit that has occurred in New Zealand for the past hundred years" (Warren Plum NZDSA, pers.comm.). However, the society was not prepared to compromise at all and desired national park status for all areas the investigation nominated. Their environmental policies can be seen in two ways the first, as a very pure form of conservation or secondly, a very simplistic policy which ignores social and economic affects of preservation.

The Mauria Society in contrast seeks to balance conservation within current land uses and development. Whereas Forest and Bird are against mining because of the detrimental impacts on the environment the Maruia Society tries to reduce the impacts of a mine rather than stopping it. In the case of Kahurangi it was recognised that local communities and recreational groups could be adversely affected by the park. The society seeks to balance preservation with production therefore seeking co-operation with groups rather than confrontation. One example of this was that the Society sought to compromise with groups such as deer hunters by promising the retention of the hunting area within the park (Nelson Evening Mail 26 July 1991). While this idea seeks compromise some environmentalists see it as "watered-down environmentalism" and only achieving limited goals (pers.comm.).

### 5.3.3 Public Participation

Public participation is a process that is used to include values in decision-making. Although there are many definitions, Rendall (1995: 338) defined participation relating to Paparoa National Park as "the statement of a proposal not yet finally decided upon, listening to what others have to say, considering their responses and then deciding what will be done". His work found that participation means different things to different people. In particular there was a marked difference in perception between officials, interest group leaders, and ordinary members of interest groups. Officials use the word 'input' to define what they regard as public participation whereas interest groups tend to suggest that the public make decisions. "To interest group members, public decision-making is seen as a right, and is associated with the idea of ownership" (Rendall 1995: 338).

Unlike other government decisions, such as in health, welfare and education, the population gets a chance to contribute to the national park process. Why is this so? The reason appears to be the fact that the results of the submissions are not binding and for DoC public participation is only one facet of their investigation. "It is the quality of the argument that is essential" states one DoC staff member in Nelson and that the numbers "did not mean a hell of a lot" (pers.comm.). Nevertheless statements by Hugh Logan, Regional Conservator, such as "no national park has ever been created without public support" appear to contradict this assumption. Essentially it is good for DoC's image if the national park is perceived as having the support of the 'public'.

A major problem of public participation is the unrepresentativeness of the process. Participants are not usually demographically representative of the wider population. Interest groups are seen to represent middle class values and not the values of the wider public. Thus participation is ..."simply an avenue for the articulate and the strongly motivated pressure groups to dominate the debate, simply because they were far better organised and their arguments were better honed" (Brenneis and M'Gonigle 1992: 5).

The submission process was designed for members of the public to write in to DoC stating their feelings/views towards the creation of the park. This could be done using

the standard DoC form which was available at their offices around the region or any form of letter as long as it related to the Kahurangi investigation. Yet criticism was levelled at this approach:

"The submission process doesn't work, only environmentalists have the time to write" (Richard Horrell, Motueka Community Board Chairman, pers.comm.).

Fig 5.4 is an extract from a Forest and Bird letter sent out to Nelson branch members telling them what to write regarding the park. This organisation resulted in a large number of submissions from Forest and Bird members essentially stating these views. This is one example of the power of environmental groups in mobilising support for landscape preservation.

**KEY POINTS TO EMPHASISE IN SUBMISSIONS:**

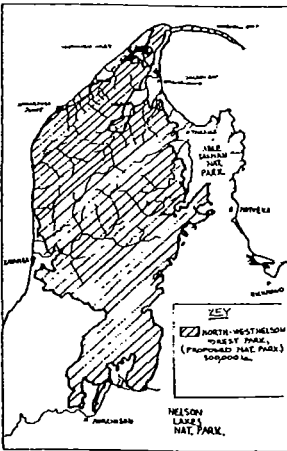
- \* Nationally important natural values: spectacular scenery, diverse ecosystems, scientific values.
- \* Important recreation area including large wilderness.
- \* Meets national park criteria admirably - the most deserving place in the country for national park status.
- \* Socio-economic benefits for small rural West Coast and Golden Bay communities. No significant economic loss.
- \* Support proposed boundaries, but insist on maintaining existing level of protection for the nature reserve, wilderness and ecological areas. Also express concern at the omission of areas to the southwest.

Fig 5.4 Forest and Bird's main points for Kahurangi (Forest and Bird, Nelson Branch: 9 September 1992).

However, a submission form was circulated in the Golden Bay which was organised by an unknown individual or group against the creation of the park. Therefore it was not just the environmental groups that sent submission forms stating their opinion relating to the park. This is a very good example of manipulation of the system. This document appears official yet it propounds a very anti-park view. Fig 5.5 states that the DoC control a "huge percentage of our district area, and pay little rates". The problems they see with national park status are fencing, mining, hydro power, land restrictions and control from Wellington. This is a very good example of all the anti-park views discussed in chapter three regarding conflict of interests.

This form was sent to most homes in the Golden Bay region and presents a very biased account of the situation. The wording and layout appears professional and many people thought it was the official DoC form one Golden Bay resident stated (pers.comm.). Of these forms returned 67% of them were against the creation of the park and 33% for the park. This anti-park response generated by this form provides an excellent example how a bias view can influence views. It raises the issue that the investigation should be as neutral as possible and present all arguments. This last idea is discussed later in this chapter with reference to DoC.

ON MAP BELOW OUTLINING AREA UNDER PROPOSAL MARK OUT AREAS YOU WOULD LIKE TO HAVE EXCLUDED FROM NATIONAL PARK, AND REMAIN FOREST PARK.



THANK YOU FOR FILLING OUT THIS SUBMISSION.  
PLEASE POST TO:  
NATIONAL PARK INVESTIGATION,  
DEPT OF CONSERVATION,  
PRIVATE BAG 5,  
NELSON.

Submissions must be received by D.O.C.  
BEFORE 31 OCTOBER 1992

SUBMISSION  
RE PROPOSAL FOR NORTH-WEST SOUTH ISLAND  
NATIONAL PARK

The land in our area is already well protected. Farewell Spit and neighbouring tidal flats are a Nature Reserve. It has international status. Permit only entry. Land and coast from Spit to south of Wharariki beach area is locked in Puponga Farm Park. (Not compatible in Nat. Park because of domestic animals). All the rest of the land in the area, not private, is Forest Park. (Scrub and bush cover in this area is too poor for National Park status.)

D.O.C. already control a huge percentage of our district area, and pay little rates. Extra pressure on country facilities like roads from increased tourism that the National Park is supposed to bring, has to be funded by local ratepayers. (Small % of rateable area of district left).

Local people loose their present use of the Forest Park area for: Horse riding, Biking, Motor-Biking, Four Wheel Drive Vehicles, Dogs, (Page 67, these activities would cease) Gold Panning, etc. Page 91

D.O.C. are not obliged to pay half the cost of fencing a National Park boundary as they are with Forest Park, Reserve, etc (Page 66. National Park completely excludes domestic animals (even one stray). National park act, clause 62.

No mining. In my opinion if some of the poor land in the Forest Park has minerals, controlled mining is the best use for that land (poor Pakahi flats mined for gold can be left better than before if done properly)

No hydro-power schemes on rivers. Hydro-power options need to be kept for the future, far better than nuclear power.

More restrictions on adjacent land-owners are likely in the future if land has National Park status. There is likely to be more pressure from environmentalists to restrict or ban spraying, top-dressing, burning and land development next to park boundaries.

If the area becomes a National Park, future decisions will be made in Wellington offices and not by local D.O.C. staff who may be more sympathetic to locals.

The uniqueness of Golden Bay will be spoilt with an influx of commercial tourism.

WE DO NOT INHERIT THE LAND FROM OUR FOREFATHERS,  
WE BORROW IT FROM OUR CHILDREN.

Have your say Please fill out this submission.

Fig 5.5 Golden Bay submission form (DoC 1993).

Unrepresentative participation may also lead to problems with the identification of the public attitude towards the creation of the park. For instance a comment made regarding the number of submissions stated:

"Submissions are prone to manipulation, there was only about a thousand submissions of which 80% were for the creation of the park. Should a thousand people decide the fate of 500,000 ha of Crown land?" (J O'Regan, Buller District Council, pers.comm.)

However, the reality is that decisions are made with minority input. The general public can not be involved in every issue and therefore the decision must be left to elected officials to best represent their constituents.

"The elected representatives must assess what the 90% of the constituents who don't contribute think" (Nick Smith, MP for Nelson and Minister of Conservation 1996, pers.comm.). One example of how this MP gained views regarding the park was through his own survey. In 1993 he sent out a survey to his Tasman electorate asking "Do you support the North West Nelson Forest Park having the increased protection of being declared a National Park"? This gained a response rate of 976 compared to 218 in the official DoC submissions process from Golden Bay. The result of Nick Smith's survey was that 703 (75%) of people were for the increased protection and 273 (25%) against (Smith 1993). Therefore Nick Smith used this larger sample as representative of the community and pledged his support.

One interesting difference between the two surveys was that Nick Smith made a conscious effort to seek opinion sending the survey out to his constituents and requiring no stamp to return it. Whereas to participate in the DoC survey you had to acquire a form from a DoC office or write a letter both of which required a knowledge of the submission process (it also required a stamp). It appears that Nick Smith's pro-active method of gaining opinion should be considered by the DoC when trying to gain opinion within the regional context.

Frequently, claims about the unrepresentative nature of the process came from local interests. For instance, some people thought that locals were not listened to, while others thought that local values should be given far more weighting in taking into account values.

"The ultimate decision should [on the creation of the park] be made at the local authority level, after all it is our resources" (J O'Regan, pers.comm.).

"It was a local issue when Auckland needed water from the Waikato river and to speed up the environmental process whereas, it is a national issue when deciding to lock more of the West Coast up" (Pat O'Dea, Buller Mayor, pers.comm.).

## 5.4 The Department of Conservation's Assessment

"DoC only argues and supports preservation. How can a department like this objectively take numerous views into account?" (Damien O'Connor, West Coast MP, pers.comm.).

The question to be asked is DoC the best department to investigate the creation of a national park? "According to Nelson/Marlborough regional conservator Hugh Logan the DoC role is simply to conduct the investigation. "It must remain impartial, simply presenting the issues to the public" (pers.comm.). Yet as Chapter Four shows DoC is charged with protecting New Zealand's natural heritage and therefore has no option but to support a national park because of the increased protection it brings.

DoC was in charge of the official investigation that was used by the Minister of Conservation to decide the status of the park. Therefore the department had enormous influence over what would be presented in the document. The next section details some of the investigation document and identifies examples of the biased nature of the report.

There is no doubt that high conservation values (scenic, ecological and recreational) existed within the investigation area. However, the description of these values is in some instances more emotive than factual (eg reference to "grand mountains", and "plunging gorges", "massive rivers" and "sky-piercing cliffs", NWSI investigation 1993: 48). The second point is the document is very vague as to the significance of plant and animal species, nor does it identify their distribution in the proposal area with any great precision.

Terms such as "probably widespread", "maybe provide evident", and "are likely to occur" are used (eg "four species of gecko and at least one species of skink are known to be in the area, the forest gecko is probably widespread", and "there are at least 15 cave beetles which are endemic to the North West", NWSI investigation 1993: 26). "Available knowledge of insects and land snails in particular, supports the concept that this area is a major centre for endemism" However, in a country which has been in isolation for so long this is a characteristic of New Zealand's fauna generally.

## 5.5 Independent Assessment

As part of the investigation of a possible new national park the National Parks Policy required an assessment of the social and economic impacts of the change in land status. The investigation was carried out for DoC by the DSIR, Social Science Unit over a period of time that was to build on the work done by the public meetings and consultation in 1991. The method they used was to assess the impacts from the creation of other national parks, profiling the communities using census material, and interviewing to identify issues. The three areas that they reported back on were (1) economic impacts, (2) social impacts and (3) management of change. While this was an independent assessment it appears that this was totally bias towards preservation.

### **5.5.1 Economic Impacts**

"The main areas identified by the investigation team were:

- \* the impetus of tourism.
- \* the impact of forestry and logging.
- \* the impact of sawmilling and related activity.
- \* the impact of hydro-electric generation.
- \* the impact of mining" (NWSI investigation: 1993: 114).

The first feature to note is the wording which describes the 'impetus' of tourism, a positive connotation with the impact development which denotes a negative affect. The description of these similarly reflects this bias within this 'neutral' investigation.

Regarding tourism the assessment was that it was of great potential to Kahurangi. Tourists are attracted to New Zealand for its 'clean green' image. Increasingly, tourists, especially Europeans, are coming to the Northwest to actively experience the environment, not to look at it from a car or a bus. The number of European backpackers, particularly Germans, have increased. These tourists tend to be Goldcard carrying tourists who minimise spending on travel and accommodation so that they can



spend on activities such as rafting, bungee jumping and tramping. There is widespread expectation that these trends will continue and that more of these tourists will come to New Zealand and by 2000 the tourists will come to the Northwest of the South Island regardless of national park status" "It is likely that a national park would result in increased tourism because of the increased prestige of a national park". (NWSI investigation 1993: 114).

The last two statements appear to contradict each other with numbers coming regardless of the status and then saying that the park will increase tourism. Without quantifying the numbers this statement appears redundant in the face of tourists coming "regardless of status". When they do try to analyse the 'impetus' of tourism their evidence is very tenuous using Paparoa National Park and the twenty jobs created in the Punakaiki area as evidence. "Using figures extrapolated from the experience around Paparoa, the economic analysis has assessed that the direct impact of tourism is likely to be an increase of about 50 full-time equivalent jobs over the first five years in the area adjacent to the investigation area...At the national level, the indirect impact may be another 35 full-time equivalent jobs. These jobs are expected to derive mainly from tourist activity. The direct jobs will range from hostel operators to concessionaires and DoC maintenance and administrative staff" (NWSI investigation 1993: 114).

There is no explanation of how the example of Paparoa can be so readily be applied to Kahurangi with the DSIR report. How have they come up with the number of jobs, based on the experience of another park in very different circumstances? Paparoa has a major attraction, in the form of Punakaiki to develop whereas Kahurangi does not have any major attraction. Therefore a comparison of the two does not appear valid.

Regarding the impact of the commercial operations (forestry, mining and hydro electricity) they provide a very brief summation of the benefits of these projects and instead centre on their feasibility. "It is expected that a national park will not impact significantly on present employment levels associated with forestry, logging, saw milling or agriculture. Feasibility studies tend to suggest that the economics of hydro development are poor" (NWSI investigation 1993: 115).

One example of the 'green stance' on this report is the statement that "if areas of mining

activity were included in the national park there would be some economic loss" (NWSI investigation 1993: 114). This statement appears incredulous when one example of Sam's Creek is given as 'some economic loss'. "If Macraes Mining (who are applying for a further licence for the Sam's Creek area) do not extract gold as a consequence, the likely direct employment cost to the area will be in the order of 150 full-time jobs over a 10 to 15 year period. These jobs would employ both local people and people from outside the area". Earlier they stated that the small towns have felt the effects of state sector and other economic restructuring, including the loss of employment, and basic services such as banks and post offices. "Their continued viability is fragile, and the loss or gain of a few jobs, or of a few businesses or services, can have exaggerated influence on their future" (NWSI investigation 1993: 112). With this in mind how could the 'potential' loss of 150 jobs, three times as many generated by tourism, be seen as "some economic loss". Overall the assessment of the economic impact shows lamentable discrepancies between the positive impact of tourism and the negative or neutral impacts of other development.

### 5.5.2 Social Impacts

The social impact is centred around the benefits of tourism to the area and there is little mention of the the loss of resource based jobs associated with the change in status. This section in the investigation seems to justify tourism because it will create a more balanced population.

The investigation identified a number of key communities in the area that would experience impacts due to status change. These were Collingwood, Takaka, Tapawera, Murchison, Karamea, Westport and Nelson. "These towns are traditionally resource communities that have experienced a series of ups and downs in their utilisation of basic resources including pastoral farming, forestry, fishing and mining. They have slowly built up a tourist industry as well, and this industry has been growing more vigorously in recent years" (NWSI investigation 1993: 112). The report describes the communities as having static populations, that is, aging population due to the loss of younger people. "Golden Bay and Karamea have relatively high numbers of self employed and employers, reflecting industries based on family farming and small businesses, and people living there for lifestyle reasons" (NWSI investigation 1993:

112).

"With any growth in the tourist industry, there will be a shift in emphasis from production to service work. Because, in the rest of the country, service occupations are typically filled by women, there is likely to be a shift in the participation rates of men and women in the workforce. While jobs for men are disappearing, jobs for women, especially part time jobs, may increase. There is also likely to be greater opportunities for young people. These factors may combine to produce a more balance employment structure" (NWSI investigation 1993: 115).

The results they found were that, with increased population, "either because there are small increases in employment levels or because there are steady tourism numbers, services such as medical services may be more viable" (NWSI investigation 1993: 115). This carrot for the local communities appears very meagre considering they estimate that only 50 jobs throughout the region will be created. The spread amongst all the small communities would only amount to an extra five jobs each, hardly enough to create economic prosperity. While no increased predictions are made about the growth in tourism numbers this appears to be a very long-term notion which communities will not see the benefits in increased services.

### **5.5.3 Management of Change**

"There was general recognition that the Department needs to maintain ongoing liaison and community involvement, and take an active role in the tourist industry" (NWSI investigation 1993: 11).

Management of the park was a key concern among the communities that were analysed for this report and the main feature centred around funding for the new park. "Establishment-funding for the park could be provided through a special injection of joint public, private and community monies" (ibid). One facet of this new management was the marketing of tourism to provide the park with sufficient revenue to maximise the economic benefits to the region. The suggestion is made that DoC should actively encourage the development of tourism.

The other area of concern was the notion of buffer zones which could be managed according to multiple use principles. "They would provide a mechanism through which activities such as horse trekking, sphagnum moss collection, gold fossicking, farm parks, other tourist activities could be separated from adjacent areas holding national park status. These zones would be employment generating, where even a few jobs could affect the economic viability of small communities." (NWSI investigation 1993: 115).

The best idea to come out of the report regarding the impact of the park on communities was that of buffer zones. The conflict of interests mentioned in chapter four centred around different groups valuing the landscape for different purposes. Most of this contestation centred around the periphery of the park involving low level impact on the environment. One example of this was farmers in the Golden Bay who faced the costly construction of fences due to the creation of the park. The size of the park has precluded the fencing of large areas of the boundary and under forest park status this was not required. National Park status however, requires the area to be fenced and while DoC states it will help with the fences their financial situation will mean farmers facing a large cost. Yet if buffers were implemented this land could continue to have forest park status which is protected and save the DoC a large fencing bill. For recreational groups and tourism operators buffer zones would have allowed continued use of the periphery while leaving the interior to the tramper (Fig 5.6). This is one idea that DoC should look at to drastically reduce contestation and create parity between conservation and other uses on Crown land.

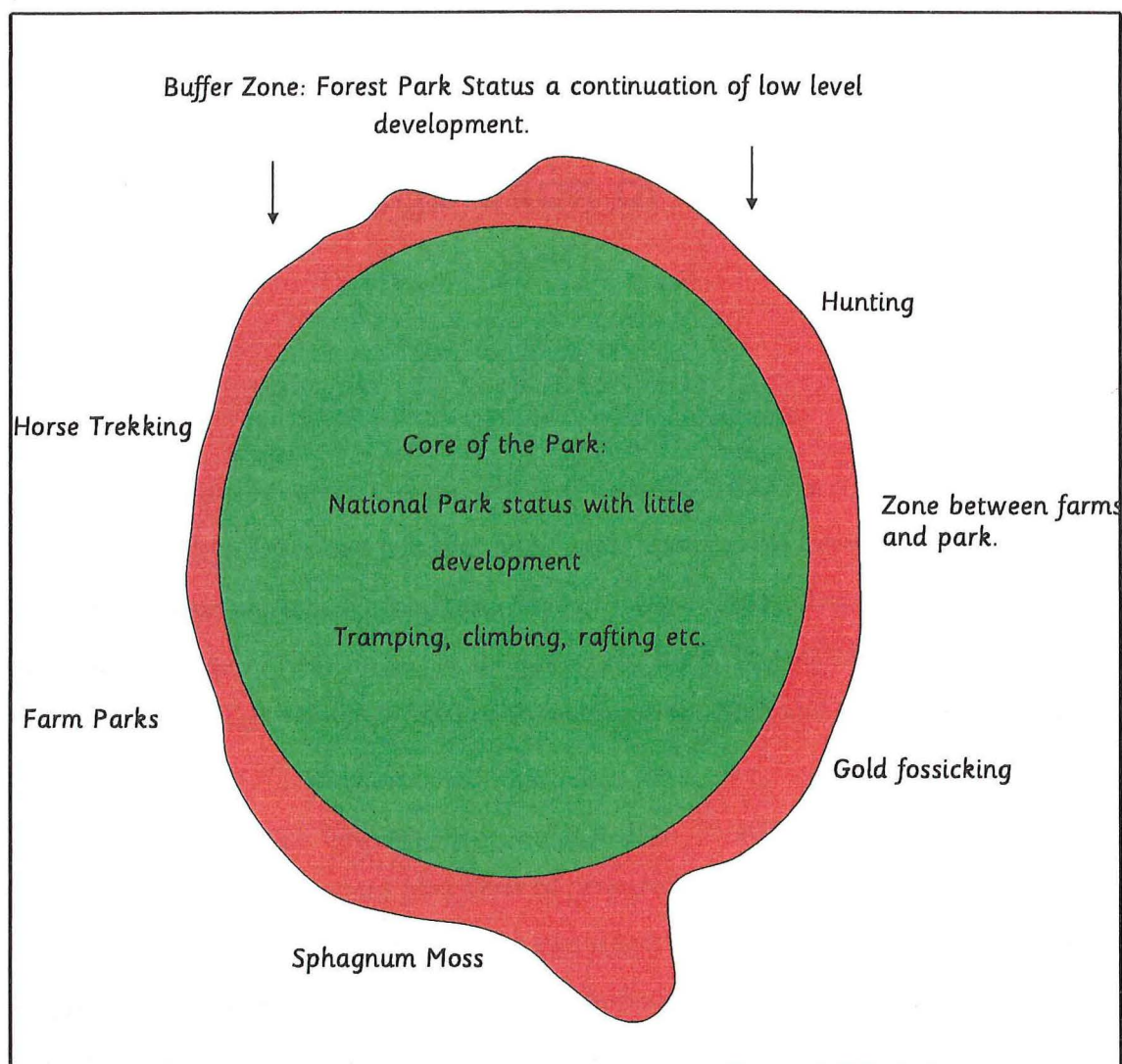


Fig 5.6 Buffer Zones (Source: Author).

## 5.6 Summary

While the creation of the park is seen as a victory for environmentalists, the policy system works in such a way that all interests have the potential to impact on the process. Commercial groups succeeded in having some areas of economic worth excluded. West Coasters got the 160,000 ha of southern Buller excluded due to their political influence. The park was gazetted in 1995 and in 1996 was officially opened by the Minister of Conservation, Denis Marshall. What the Minister was advised by the Conservation Authority was centred around the DoC investigation. Therefore while DoC and the process are vulnerable to political and economic pressure DoC still holds enormous power in producing the investigation document. Chapter six seeks to look at the impacts of this status change one year after the creation of the park.



## Chapter Six

# Nature and regulation of impacts on the park

## 6.1 Introduction

"Humans are the dominant species in every national park. As a result of our social evolution we have expanded into one niche after another. We have created new niches where none have existed. Furthermore, we are a highly generalised animal, capable of an immense range of behaviour... In short, to understand the natural systems of the park you must understand the park's most dominant species" (Hall and McArthur 1996: 128).

In 1996 the Kahurangi National Park was gazetted. In accordance with the National Parks Act 1980 a management plan must be prepared within two years after constitution of the park. This plan tries to balance the two tenets of the Act that "firstly the area is to be preserved and protected because of its intrinsic values, and secondly the area is protected for the benefit and enjoyment of the public" (Whanganui Management Plan 1987: 13). The management plan might also seek to resolve the conflict of interests discussed in chapters four and five. "Park management seeks to balance the protection of the natural and historic resources with the demands of the user" (NWSI investigation 1993: 14). While at the time of writing Kahurangi has yet to prepare a management plan this chapter looks at past research into the management of national parks in New Zealand. This shows there is a conflict in according both preservation and free access (recreation and tourism) equity within New Zealand's national parks.

Relating to Kahurangi, analysis is made of this conflict and the impact that the status change has had on preservation and free access (recreation and tourism). While national park status brings a higher degree of protection for flora and fauna it does have negative effects. One of the main justifications for preservation, especially from government and environmentalists, is the value of status for tourism and recreation. The expenditure of visitors in national park sites and the associated flow-on effects has meant that national park tourism is now big business. Yet to date the changes to both preservation and free

access at Kahurangi have been minimal due to a lack of funding on the part of the DoC and the relative infancy of the park. However, while this may be the case now certainly the park in the future will be susceptible to increasing pressure on the landscape due to the economic and social power of free access.

## 6.2 Management?

### 6.2.1 Free Access versus Preservation

"National Parks cannot be all things to all people" (Devlin 1980: 124). In many countries national parks now exist but there is great variety in the philosophy and management techniques applied to them. Along with Canada and America, New Zealand:

"share[s]... perhaps the purest form of national park system, where the landforms and indigenous biota are protected from man-induced change and where any introduced biota is as far as possible removed - these areas are freely available for the enjoyment and education of all people" (Rennison 1992: 7).

Herein lies the inherent conflict and contradiction of national parks: how can preservation and free access (recreation/tourism) be reconciled? It is inevitable that there are many differing expectations as to what a national park should be or what facilities should be provided, and as demands for use of parks grow, conflicts and dissatisfaction may occur.

Noble (1987) identified New Zealand's national parks as increasingly subject to a number of negative changes. Their popularity and attractiveness for tourism development is increasing, and justification for preservation as a land management goal is becoming more difficult in the face of new, more market orientated resource allocation procedures. With the restructuring of environmental administration DoC, which administers national parks, is now subject to a requirement to recoup some of its costs by charging users for its services, where users can be readily identified as shown to benefit. Cost recovery, including user pays, discourages waste and therefore DoC is



forced to make preservation 'pay its way'.

The post-1945 change from tourism as a luxury, to tourism as a mass-consumption good, has increased the scale of tourism worldwide, and led to increased concern about detrimental environmental and social effects, despite its economic importance. The negative environmental impact of tourism can be split into two: the actual physical impact such as tramping, erosion, various forms of pollution, social infrastructure like roads and sewerage systems and longer term from cumulative impacts. Booth (1986: 5) notes that nearly three million people visited New Zealand's national parks in 1985, and that this is increasing by approximately ten percent per annum. The kinds of change introduced to national parks by growing visitor numbers and the consequent increase in tourist facilities are likely to be incremental, cumulative and difficult to pinpoint (Cheng 1980: 73). Cheng notes that "gradual expansion in the number of tourist services and facilities has the potential to alter subtly the social environment, and to change community values and objectives". This incremental change is accepted, or at least rarely questioned, because individuals and society "are highly adaptable to a changing environment provided that the change is slow and steady" (Cheng 1980: 75).

Noble finds that growing tourism numbers are already destroying the efforts for conservation. However, it must be noted that this is more pronounced in some parks than in others, and in some parts of parks than in other parts. Similarly, large areas of some of our parks still retain their natural character and are still able to foster preservation goals. "Comparison of areas such as the skifields of Tongariro, the beaches of Abel Tasman, the Mount Cook village area, and the Milford Track and Sound area, with the more remote areas of Urewera, Aspiring, Arthur's Pass and Fiordland National Parks suggests there is a vast difference in the outcomes being achieved" (Noble 1987: 34).

The conclusion Noble reaches is that managers should use the goals of national parks, described in the 1980 National Park Act, and their underlying values to control development within a national park. The Whanganui National Park management plan states this regarding its priorities between preservation and free access:

"At all times, the guiding criteria for management decisions remain the National Parks

Acts". The primary aim of national parks is the preservation of the natural ecosystems for their intrinsic worth, and for the use and enjoyment of the public. Public use, however, is subject to preservation of the natural environment, so there is provision for the "imposition of such conditions and restrictions as may be necessary for the protection of natural values (Whanganui Management Plan 1986: 14).

While the guiding principles may be in place for DoC to follow, the reality is there is little active management of visitor behaviour within New Zealand's national parks. National park managers can no longer focus solely on physical and natural characteristics when formulating management strategies. Management techniques such as interpretation of visitor attitudes and market segmentation are important tools to address the growth in visitor numbers and the demand for high-quality visitor experience.

Work done by Lawrence, Springett and Hall (1996) looked to improve knowledge of park visitors by examining their demographics and trip characteristics in Egmont National Park. What the study found was that visitors, both from New Zealand and overseas, displayed a strong environmental ethic in their concern about the human impact of the park's environment and were positive about preservationist uses. Nearly all the visitors considered "natural beauty an important component of their visit, and indicated a need to maintain the perceived pristine environment of the park". Other comments suggest that Egmont National Park fulfilled an important function in visitors lives, including recreation and quality of life. Generally attitudes were against the development of the park to the detriment of natural values. Therefore management should not feel that increased restriction of access will necessarily be met with a negative response from the majority of users.

One of the main findings was the benefit of market segmentation. While the physical carrying capacities of Egmont are currently not under much stress it may become very desirable to use market segmentation to improve the visitor experience and to assist in sustainable management of the park's resources. Cossen and Jurice (1996: 125) suggest market segmentation would allow improved control and dispersal of visitors in the conservation estate while increasing visitor satisfaction.

"While the identification of particular segments with their own special needs, and the development and the creation of products and services to meet those needs lays the foundation for market segmentation strategy. It is the communication with the potential users/consumers that will have a critical role in directing people to those different products and will provide an element of control the manager may not have had before, and more importantly dispersal of people across a number of products (eg tracks) reducing the possibility of social and physical carrying capacities being exceeded" (Cossen and Jurice 1996: 125).

At this moment there are not major problems being experienced by Egmont National Park. However, if visitor pressure increases, a strategy of developing and promoting different entry points to different types of visitor groups, with services and facilities aimed at their special needs, could be implemented. For example, the majority of overseas visitors already use the entry point with the most facilities and it would be sensible to promote continuation of this. Whereas it was found that locals preferred little infrastructure in the form of guides and information but wanted quality huts and recreational facilities. For management purposes, the development of small areas of development within national parks while leaving the bulk of the park 'untouched' is the best method of balancing conservation and tourism. An example would be the upgrading of facilities on the Heaphy track whereas leaving the rest of the park untouched.

### 6.3 Impact of change on Kahurangi National Park

The previous section looked at the management challenges New Zealand's National Park will face with the forecasted growth in use. The key question was the balance between preservation and free access. What this section seeks to look at is how the creation of Kahurangi National Park has affected preservation and free access in the area?

#### **6.3.1 User Survey**

As part of the fieldwork a survey of park users was carried out to analyse the extent to

which perceptions towards the change to national park status has affected preservation and access issues. This was undertaken during the period 18 February to 1 March at various entry points around the park. Due to time constraints five entry points with road access were chosen to undertake the survey (Appendix C). These points were chosen at the advice of DoC in Nelson as the most used entry points into the park. Two day was spent interviewing at each (Fig 6.1). A total of 99 people were interviewed of which 48 were from overseas and 51 were from New Zealand. Most of the interviews were carried out at the entrance and exit to the Heaphy Track (50%). This was due to the track being the most used area in the park.

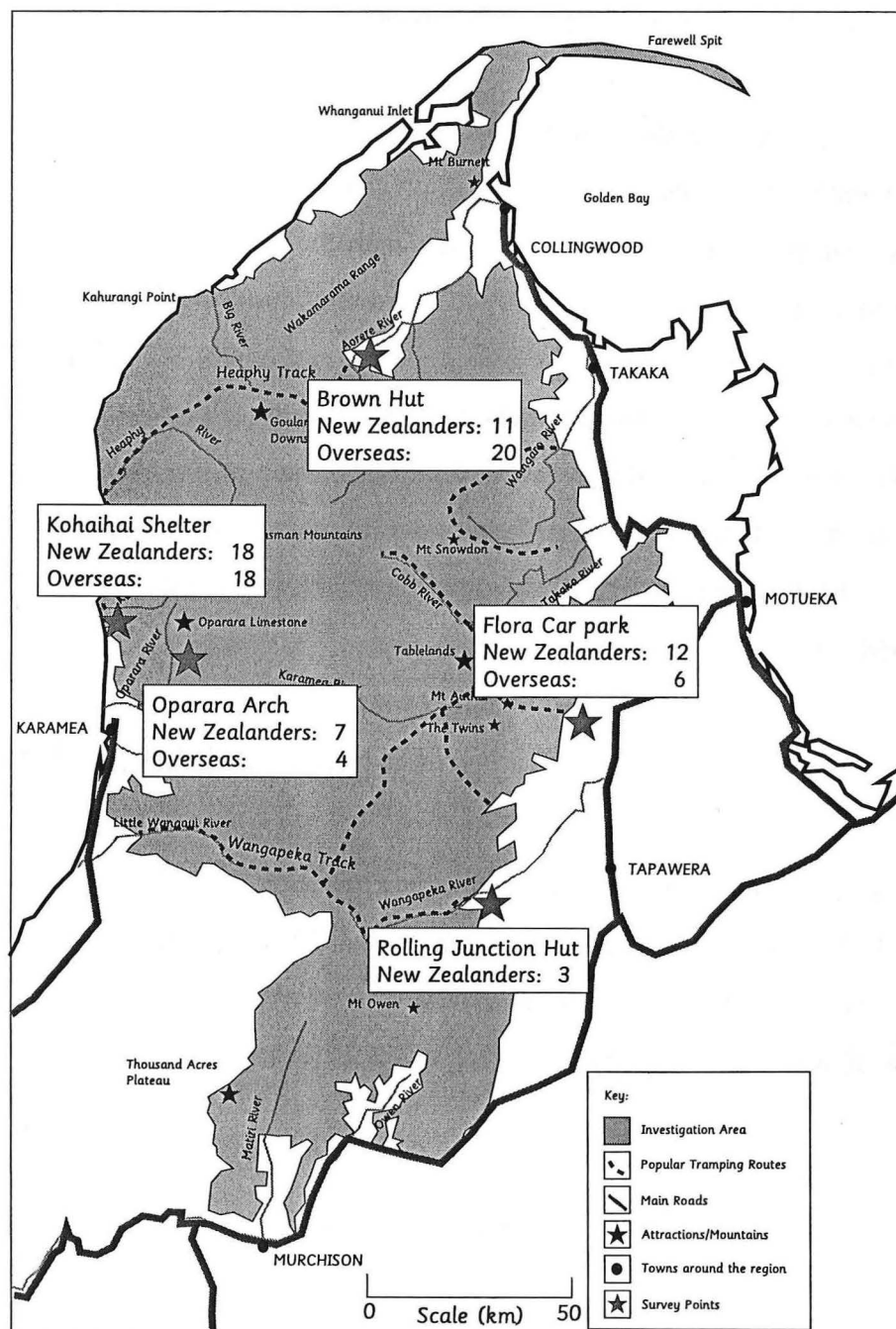


Fig 6.1 Distribution of those surveyed (Source: Author).

Figures 6.2, 6.3 and 6.4 outline some of the broad characteristics of the survey population. Fig 6.1 summarises the place of residence for respondents 26% were from the region (Murchison, Westport, Nelson and Golden Bay), 25% from the rest of New Zealand (Greymouth, Palmerston North, Hamilton and Auckland) and 49% were from overseas. 80% of overseas people interviewed came from the United Kingdom and Central Europe. This is indicative of the dependence the Nelson region has on European tourists who provide the majority of international visits (Joe Stratton, Nelson Development Board, pers.comm.). Within New Zealand the cities of Nelson and Christchurch provided the largest proportion of park users.

Fig 6.3 shows the age of the respondents with a very clear contrast between New Zealanders and overseas park users. The majority of New Zealanders tended to be between 36 and 55 (68%). Overseas visitors tended to be between 18-35 (89%). The reason for New Zealanders being older could be due to the time when the survey was undertaken. This was not during the holiday season and school holidays were over, possibly cutting down the number of younger park users. Fig 6.4 shows the gender of park users and this establishes that there was a higher proportion of male park users, 66% compared to female 34%.

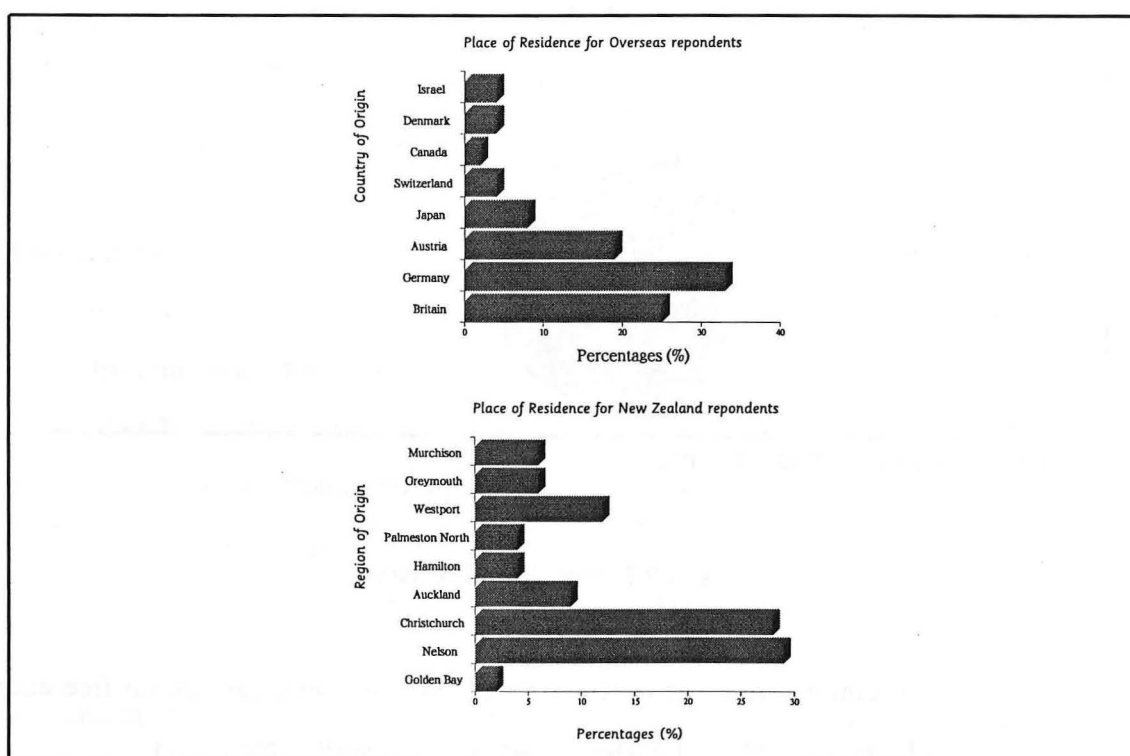


Fig 6.2 Place of residence for respondents.

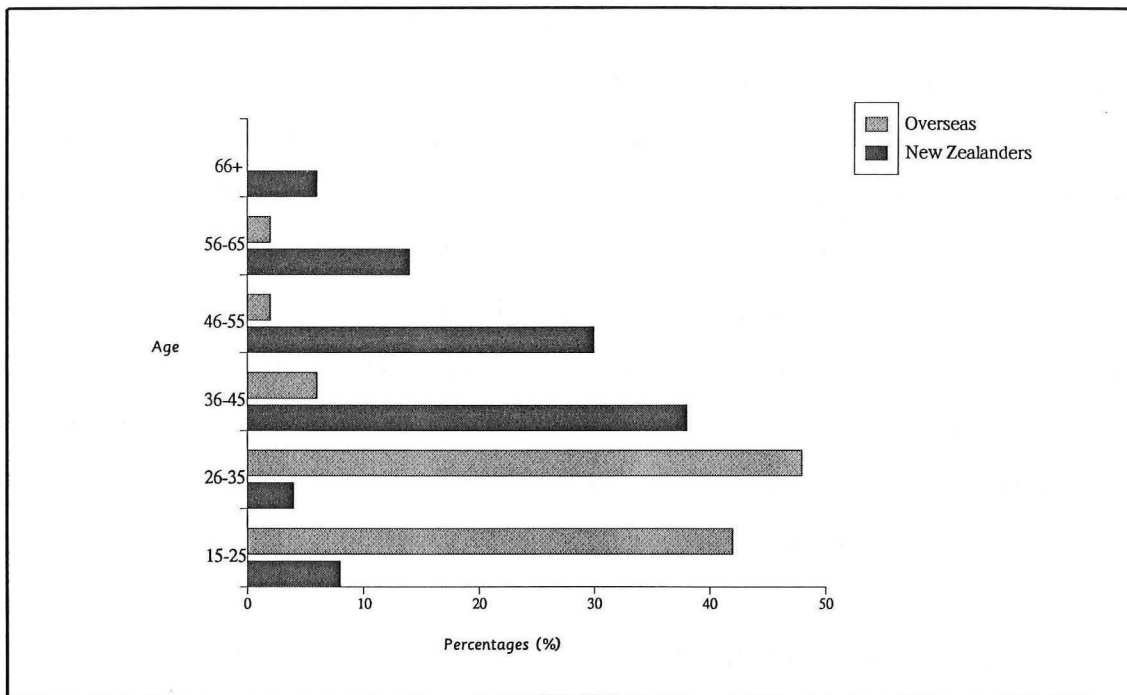


Fig 6.3 Age of the respondents.

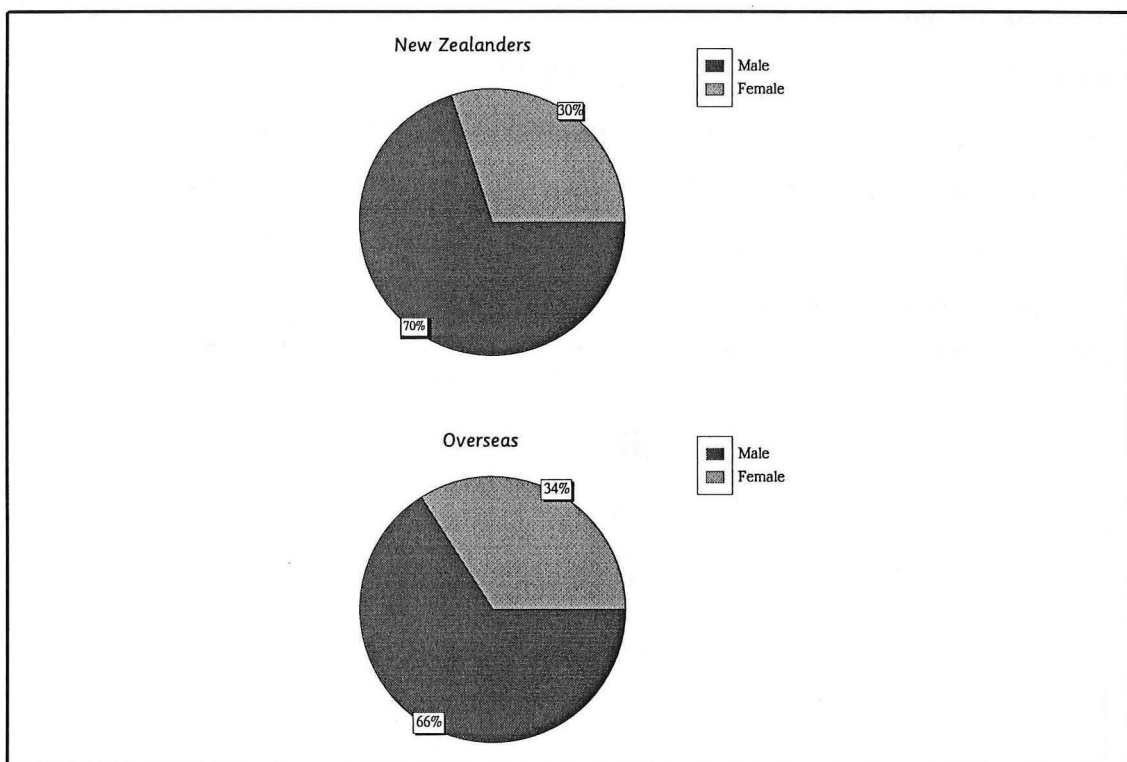


Fig 6.4 Gender of the respondents.

### 6.3.2 Recreational Access

These next two sections look at the effect the change of status has had on free access (recreation and tourism) within the park, drawing on the survey responses.

The National Park Act's definition of public use is:

"To allow free access into the park, and a range of recreational activities within the park consistent with the principles of national park preservation and visitor safety" (Section 4, National Park Act 1980).

Therefore the object is to monitor visitor use and the park environment to enable appropriate action to be taken if or where overuse or misuse of the park is threatening the park's resources or values .

For recreational users the impact of the change will not be enormous. While some pursuits will not be permitted, such as mountain biking, most activities will continue albeit with greater restrictions. According to Alan Peak, senior manager of the Nelson/Marlborough conservancy, the management plan will seek to "compromise on all interests relating to the park" (pers.comm.). The management plan is essentially the rules and regulations the park is governed by and seeks to take into account submissions and ongoing liaison and community involvement. One example of this compromise is that while recreational hunters were against the creation of the park, the management plan seeks to let hunting continue. "While the Recreational Hunting Area (RHA) will cease to exist, under the National Park Act, we still need people to hunt in the area" (Alan Peak, DoC: pers.comm.), because these area still extensive number of deer living within the park.

One interesting feature of landscape preservation is the evolution of changing values creating a situation where the National Park Act might require updating. With current legislation mountain biking is not allowed in national parks. Yet during an interview, in September 1996, the Minister of Conservation muted the idea of allowing bikes within parks. This was prompted perhaps by the popularity in recent years of this form of access to Kahurangi in particular (The Press 25 September 1996).

### **6.3.3 The Power of Tourism**

Kahurangi National Park has great tourism potential, however, there are several problems tourism might create in the future. Increased user charges and restrictions of use are two possible concerns the park will face. While tourism numbers are currently

small, many people fear that the impact of tourism will destroy the natural environment that the status seeks to protect.

The New Zealand tourism industry realises the enormous worth of the conservation estate in attracting international tourists. "The importance of the conservation estate and its unique features and benefits in the position of New Zealand offshore cannot be underestimated. A large number of international visitors are attracted to New Zealand because of the image they have of New Zealand's scenic attractiveness, irrespective of how much time they actually spend on the conservation estate". This highlights the need to protect the conservation qualities of these lands. However, it is the adding of the value through attractions and activities, against the backdrop of nature, which is the key to maximising the economic benefits from tourism (Tourism Board 1993: 4).

For Kahurangi Fig 6.5 shows that most people knew the area was a national park before they arrived. For overseas tourists the fact that the area was a national park was a major reason for their visit to the area (Fig 6.6). Fig 6.2 showed that a large majority of park users were from Central Europe. Research by the New Zealand Tourism Board has shown that they regard national parks as the key environmental destinations for these tourists (Tourism Board 1995). The name is also important for many New Zealanders (12%) who were curious to see the country's new national park. Therefore the change in status is an excellent marketing tool to attract more tourists to the area.

The reason why DoC is enthusiastic about tourism is what Noble (1987) called 'accountability', the requirement for it to be partially self funding. In the 1993 investigation report funding for the park was seen as a problem both to promote preservation and regulate free access. One solution was that "establishment of funding for the park could be provided through a special injection of joint public, private and community monies. Mechanisms to recover the costs of providing and maintaining national park facilities also need to be implemented" (NWSI investigation 1993: 115).



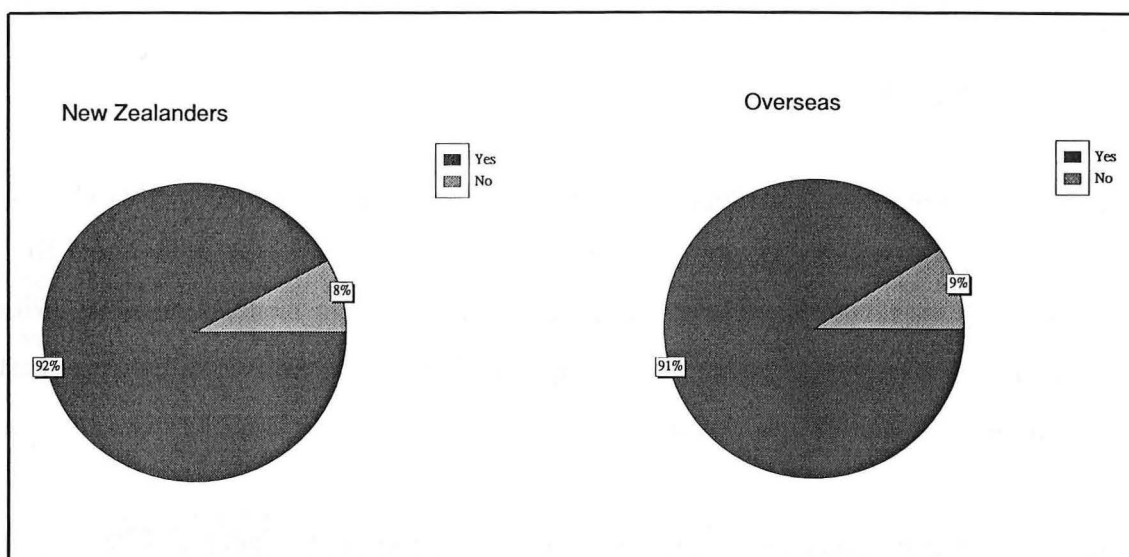


Fig 6.5 Awareness of national park status.

The need for funding was further emphasised with recommendation to encourage the tourism sector to manage and market tourism more effectively. "To enhance and protect the experience of overseas and domestic tourists, to extend the shoulder periods, to spread use over a number of attractions in the area and maximise economic benefits in the region" (NWSI investigation 1993: 115).

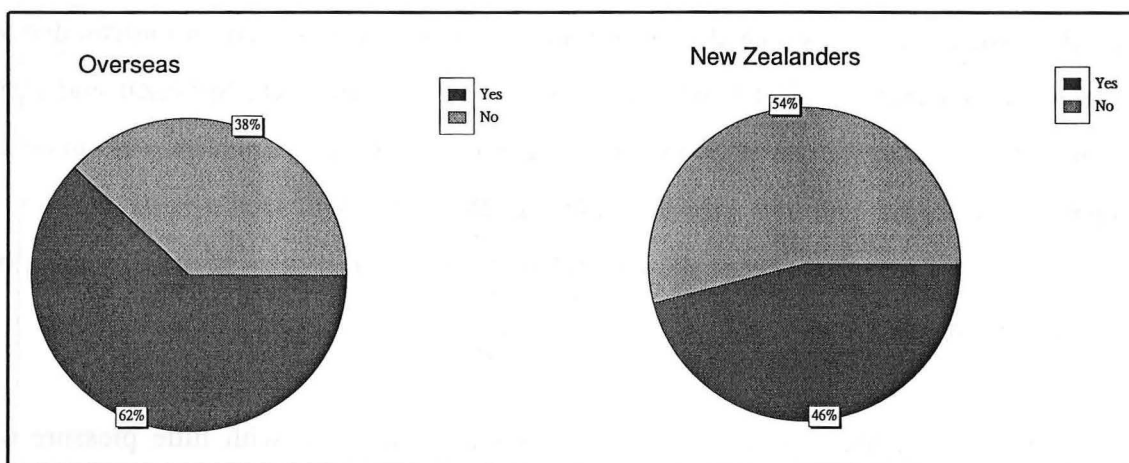


Fig 6.6 Decision to go affected by status.

While both DoC and environmental groups during the investigation process used tourism as a justification for national park status they always stated that it should be regulated. Environmental groups believe that lack of funding coupled with the increase in tourism is the greatest threat to New Zealand's environment. As carrying capacities are slowly increased the pressure on the environment increases until the protection values of national parks status are lost. "There is already a failure in the national parks system to deal with the impact of tourism. Management must be put in place for

Kahurangi to be preserved and not tainted with mass tourism" (Hugh Barr Federated Mountain Clubs, pers.comm.).

One solution that the Maruia Society and Forest and Bird suggested was higher charges for parks users especially for overseas visitors. Gerry McSweeney of Forest and Bird wanted a tripling of hut fees for all users and a 50% rebate for New Zealanders. "With the realities of user pays DoC must charge market rates to see some of the best wilderness in the world" (pers.comm.).

This idea directly attacks the philosophy of national parks for the 'people'. Chapter two looked at national parks in the nineteenth century being the domain of the elite due to the expense and time required to visit these distant wonders. The market realities of the twentieth century are beginning to create the same situation in today's national parks. "With the current hut system it is getting extremely expensive to take a family into New Zealand's national parks and any more increases will force average New Zealanders out" (Warren Plum NZDSA: pers.comm.).

At the same time there is a need to restrict the extent and development of tourism due to the inherent negative effect it has on a national park (Lawrence, Springett and Hall 1996). Restrictions of use regarding national parks is already a reality with number restrictions on the country's premier walk, the Milford. With DoC's need to recover costs increased fees for access are inevitable and this will result in the exclusion of certain groups.

Currently this is not a problem for Kahurangi National Park with little pressure on facilities. In 1993 only 4000 people walked the Heaphy track, the premier attraction in the park. Compare this to 21,000 that walk the Abel Tasman and it is obvious that Kahurangi is not yet under much pressure. However, in the future the issues of carrying capacities and charges will be a significant factor for the park (Tourism Board 1996).

#### **6.3.4 Preservation**

To what extent has preservation benefited from the change in status? Since the creation of the park no new funding has been directed specifically to protect the environment.

The creation of a national park is supposed to preserve the environment it encapsulates for instance the Whanganui Management Plan (1987: 15) mandate is:

"To manage the park so that it is preserved in its natural state as far as possible and to protect and enhance the habitats of native plants and animals, and soil and water values" .

Parks are to be preserved "in perpetuity as national parks, for their intrinsic worth and for the benefit use and enjoyment of the public"... and "they shall be preserved as far as possible in their natural state" and "their values as soil, water and forest conservation area shall be maintained" (Section Four, National Parks Act 1980).

Fig 6.7 illustrates the main purpose of respondents' visits to the park. What these activities and general comments showed was that park users expressed strong feelings as to the importance of preservation. Through their activities, users show the importance of preservation, as they are generally engaged in activities which are scenery dependent.

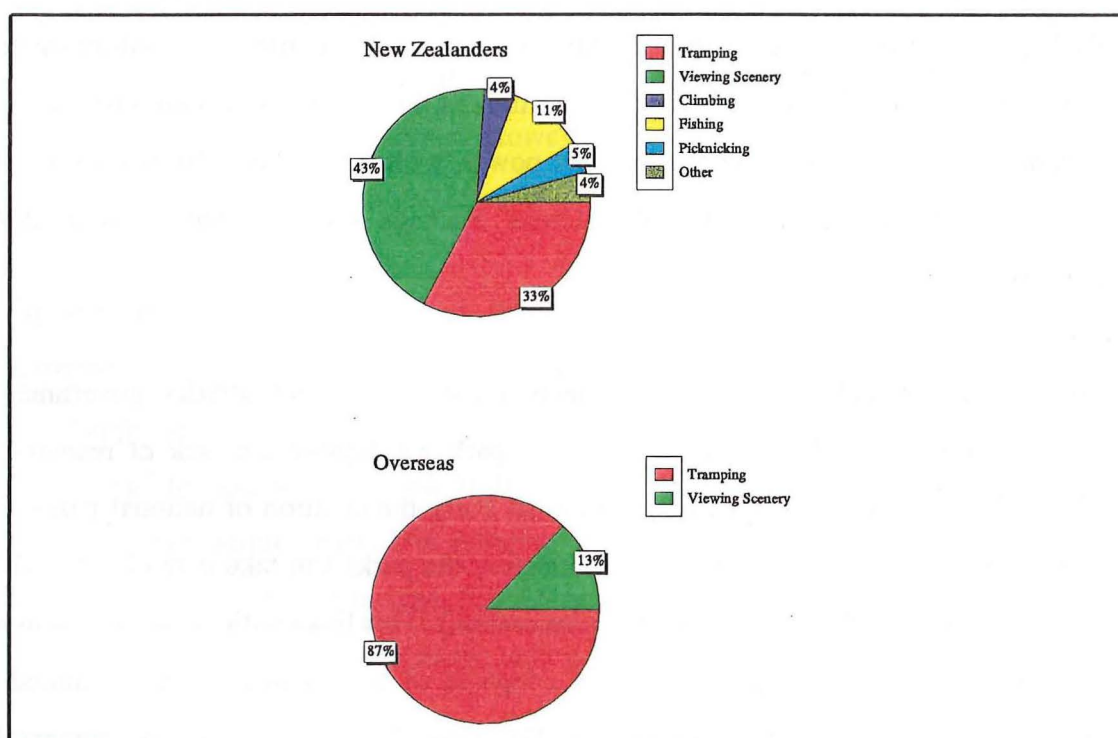


Fig 6.7 Main purpose of visit to Kahurangi National Park.

Like the work done regarding Egmont those interviewed regarding Kahurangi displayed

a strong environmental ethic in their concern about human impact on the park (Lawrence *et al* 1996). One New Zealander stated: "This is fantastic scenery which should be protected for all generations" (pers.comm.), an overseas tourist was amazed at the lack of development concerned that: "New Zealand should do all it can to protect this untouched environment" (pers.comm.).

For both DoC and environmental groups their support for the change in status was to protect the Kahurangi environment with greater preservation; to what extent has this happened?

"New Zealand's natural estate is under attack. The lack of money government attribute to conservation is deplorable. National Park status at least forces them to be accountable to protect their 'green' image" (Guy Salmon, Maruia Society: pers.comm.).

However, the current Minister of Conservation, Nick Smith, has not been able to give DoC any extra money to manage this new park. "While I would like to have more money for the protection of the conservation estate unfortunately government priorities at this time make this impossible. However, the park will benefit under the Green Package which over three years will inject money into the entire conservation estate". Yet even without this direct funding Mr Smith sees the new status working to the areas advantage because "the name means more power, with DoC budget priorities National Parks will be the first to see this Green Package money" (Nick Smith 1997: pers.comm.).

Predictably the Labour opposition rejects these claims and attacks government's funding policy. "While Labour supports the park we deplore the lack of resources". Philip Woollaston states that for the National Party the creation of national parks is a cheap option because unlike health or education the parks can take care of themselves and the ecological damage is hidden" (pers.comm.). This links with the ideas discussed in chapter three regarding both parties adoption of environmental values aimed at supporters of preservation. Rainbow (1993) states that creation of environmentally 'friendly' policies is an easy option for all parties especially with the land being deemed worthless for other commercial development.

Alan Peak of DoC states that while there have not been any major changes since the creation, progress will slowly be made. "What the increased status does is give us more power with central government to demand extra funding to comply with the National Park Act". At the moment the effect of the change is negligible, however, the status has precluded large scale detrimental development that could further degrade the environment. This appears to be the major achievement of the status change with possible commercial operations destroying the flora and fauna being significantly reduced. Development, such as Hydro schemes are very difficult to undertake due to the restrictive National Park Act. What the user survey shows is that increased restrictions to protect the environment, if required, would not be viewed negatively by park users, who see this protection as the main function of a national park.

## 6.4 Nature and Impact on the Region

### 6.4.1 Tourism

This section looks at the effect the park is having on the surrounding region. How is the region's infrastructure situated to deal with the forecasted increase in numbers of visitors? Currently, 'poorly', with the user survey showing that most park users were not satisfied with the level of facilities. However, facilities are slowly developing to meet the needs of the new national park.

Fig 6.8 shows that both overseas (67%) and New Zealand (74%) users were not satisfied with the level of infrastructure in and around the park. New Zealanders were not happy particularly with access roading (23%) with comments ranging from "appalling" to "are we supposed to drive on this dirt track?". Another factor was the lack of signage around park. The author could relate to this complaint with entry points to the park very difficult to find. Fig 6.9 shows the direction to the Mt Arthur Track however, no mention is made that the area is now a national park.

For the surrounding regions the promise of more visitors to offset other economic losses caused by the status change has not occurred, so far. This is to be expected after only one year, however, there are some disturbing features about the lack of

infrastructure which will hinder this development.

Joe Stratton of the Nelson Business Development Board states that the "area [Kahurangi] has average tourism potential" and "tourists aren't going to come simply because the area is now a national park. The area must be well marketed before the region will see any viable benefits" (pers.comm.).

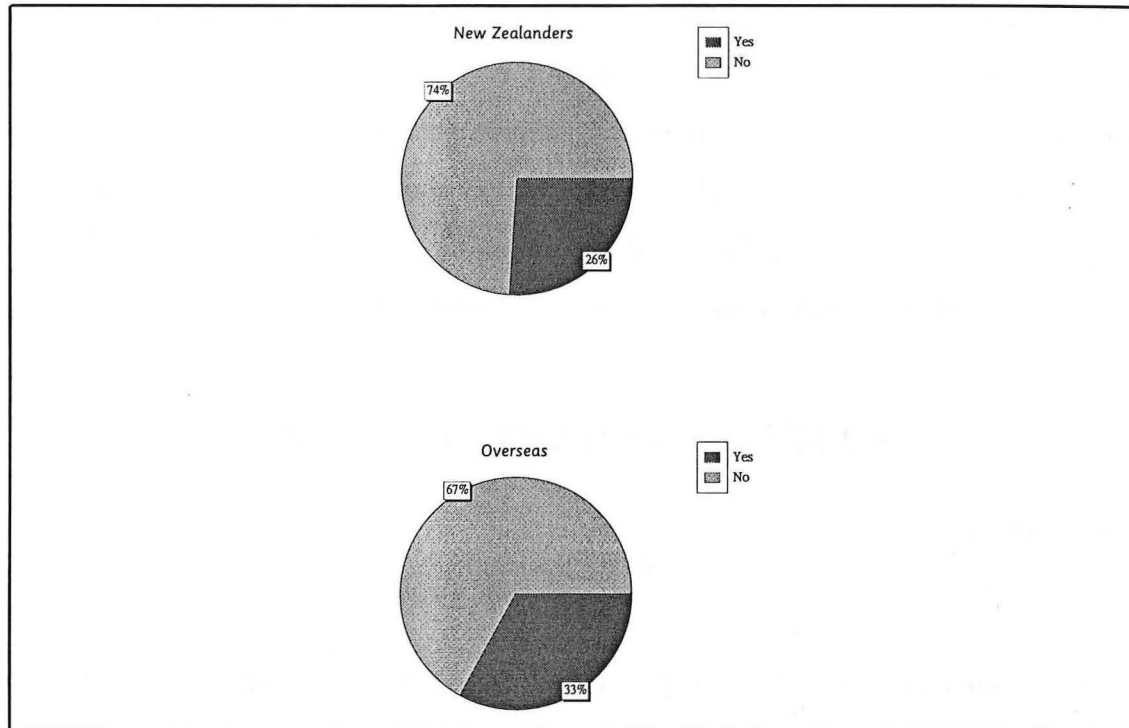


Fig 6.8 Satisfaction with facilities in and around the park.

According to Tourism Nelson, Kahurangi is marketed in conjunction with the region rather than as a separate attraction. The two official Nelson Region publications recognise the creation of the park.

"Extraordinary landscape features, crystal clear Pupu Springs, a bird Sanctuary and wetland of world renown at Farewell Spit, an unspoiled and gentle coastline on the backdrop of the vast wilderness of Kahurangi National Park" (Tourism Nelson 1997a).

"Kahurangi National Park is the classic national park: huge, wild and rich in the plants and animals that make New Zealand unique. Formed in early 1996, its 452,000 hectares include most remaining natural lands in the northwestern South Island. Moteuka, Takaka, Karamea and Murchison are the park's gateway towns. Roads from these towns lead to car parks and networks of tracks, ranging from short strolls to multi-day wilderness trips" (Tourism Nelson 1997b).



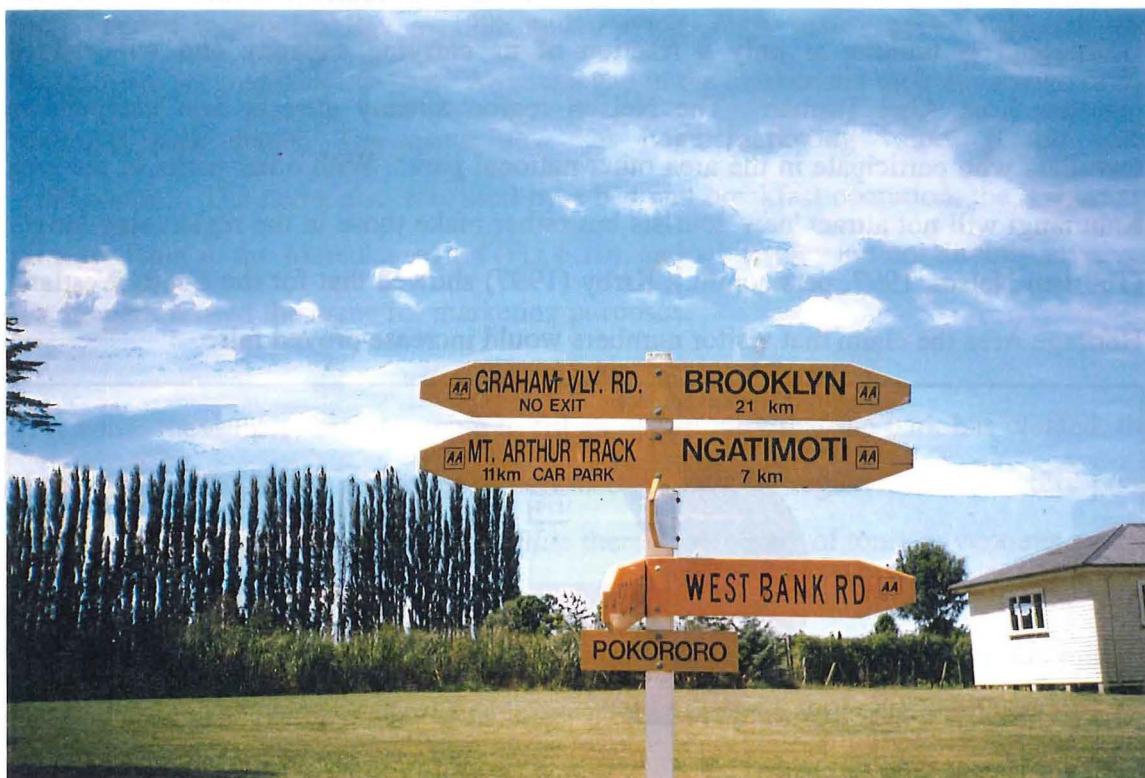


Fig 6.9 Where is the park?



Fig 6.10 The Kahurangi Brown Trout.



The park is seen as a compliment to the region rather than an attraction on its own. This is backed up by Nick Smith's statement regarding tourism within the region. "Kahurangi is running at only a fraction of its carrying capacity and will reduce pressure from Abel Tasman". The Nelson region already attracts free independent travellers who participate in the area other national parks. With other parks in the area Kahurangi will not attract 'new' tourists but rather make those in the region stay longer (Tourism Nelson 1997, pers.comm.). Kirby (1997) showed that for the South Westland Heritage Area the claim that visitor numbers would increase proved false.

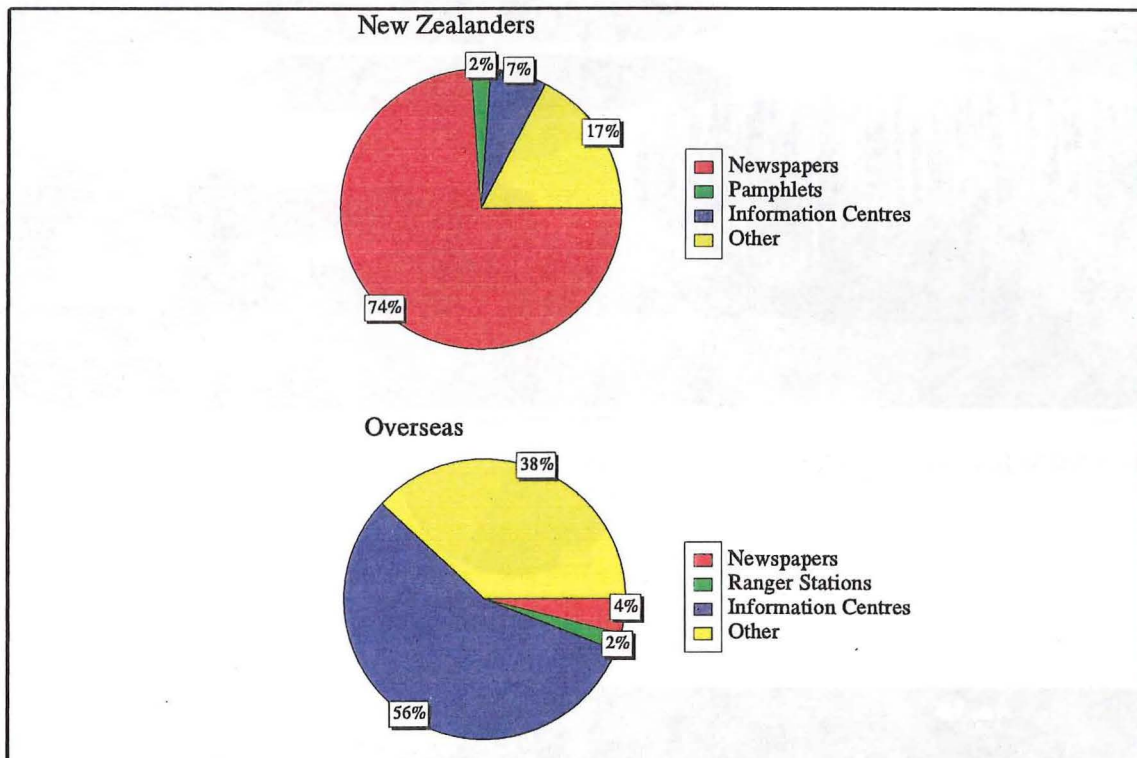


Fig 6.11 Source of information about the park.

Fig 6.11 looks at the source of information people found out about the park and the change in status. For New Zealanders most knew about the change in status through newspaper publicity centred around the opening in 1996. Yet for a large number of overseas people (73%) they did not know the area was now a national park until they arrived. The reason for this is that most travel guides have not been updated to acknowledge the change in status. Therefore most overseas people found that the area was a national park through information centres in the region (56%). With the name being important the marketing of the park in tourist guides is a priority if the region wishes to benefit from the change.



Some tourist operators have taken advantage of the new status. The Kahurangi Lodge was opened in Golden Bay in 1995 and provides high quality accommodation and ecotourism for overseas tourists. "We saw a gap in the market and took advantage of the national park status. The name now has huge marketing value" (Geoff Call, pers.comm.). The name also was used by a bed and breakfast operation, the Kahurangi Brown Trout in the Moteuka region (Fig 6.10), and while they are not directly involved in the park it used the name for marketing purposes.

Yet while these operators are trying to fill an opportunity that the park has created, the interviews showed that a number of park users found the regional infrastructure poor. Many survey respondents stated that while there were plenty of tourism ventures geared towards Abel Tasman National Park in the form of transport to and from the park, guides and attractions, there were none operating around Kahurangi. Like internal infrastructure the development of facilities around the park will take a number of years to be created.

## 6.5 Summary, Whats in a Name?

While currently New Zealand's national park system is trying to balance preservation and free access it appears that for Kahurangi the impact of the status change has not yet been significant. DoC is faced with the task of preserving an environment ironically by attracting tourism and recreation to make it viable. Tourism has great potential and according to users the change in status is a very important reason to visit. The problem that Noble (1987) identifies is that as the need for revenue becomes more essential preservation is destroyed at the expense of free access. If they are to be balanced it is through excluding the 'public' by higher entrance fees and defeating the national park ideal of 'public good'. While currently this is not a major problem in Kahurangi with user numbers small this could become a problem as the New Zealand Tourism Board aims to markedly increase tourism numbers in the future.

A lack of resources means that within the park the area will remain much as it did before it was a national park and facilities will develop slowly as funds become available. For the region the park offers a new attraction rather than a destination in

itself and therefore the growth experienced directly due to the status change will not be large. As growth occurs development of infrastructure is likely to follow therefore the lack of development currently is understandable.

## Chapter Seven

### Conclusions

#### 7.1 Preservation

The environment has long been treated as a commodity and preservation has resulted from people valuing the landscape in its natural form. This was not a benevolent act to protect the environment, but simply that its value for certain activities required preservation. The justification used by the elite for the creation of protected landscapes was the notion of 'public' good. The idea of 'public' good gave legitimacy to a selfish desire from preservationists so that their environmental values could be satisfied. Marketing of national parks centred around nationalistic pride, the health of the outdoors and tourism. The first national parks in the nineteenth century were created out of landscapes valued at that particular time. These were 'icon' centred parks containing mountains, waterfalls, geysers and other 'spectacular' areas.

The search for environmental amenity thus became an integral part of rising standards of living. After the Second World War massive economic growth enabled the realisation of environmental values for a larger proportion of the public. This group, like the elite of the nineteenth century, sought the creation of parks through their influence within society. Evidence of this can be seen in the growth of environmental groups and protests which sought to expand preservation. As knowledge about the environment grew national parks began to incorporate different types of landscapes. This was aided by the decommercialisation of economic activities such as forestry and mining. Landscapes, such as lowland forest, which had once been used, or bracketed, for economic development now were contested by environmental groups.

Legislation also changed during this time and government departments, such as the New Zealand Forest Service, which had once combined a development role with environmental responsibility, were rationalised. The result of this was the creation of DoC which has the task of protecting New Zealand's natural heritage. It was this body however, that is in charge of assessing new national parks in an impartial manner.

## 7.2 Kahurangi

The Kahurangi landscape means different things to different people. During the investigation process there were many interests expressing their views about the park. There were many more interests involved with the creation of Kahurangi than with earlier parks because it represented a 'new' type of park. Its landscape was valued because it had viable economic developments, a large group of recreational users, a local population with numerous interests and preservationists all competing for control.

All these groups manipulated certain aspects of the process to promote their interests. Politically the weakness of the system was that the final decision of whether the park was created was made by the Minister of Conservation, a political figure vulnerable to outside pressure, other than the criteria set down for assessing national parks in the Act. Environmental groups succeeded in initiating the investigation due to the willingness of politicians eager to gain the environmental vote. However, the southern Buller region was excluded due to West Coasters placing pressure on their local politician.

With successes for all parties no group gained all they wanted. Therefore it is not surprising that these same groups felt the system had failed them. For environmentalists having large areas excluded for the park was seen as a failure of the system. Those against the park saw public participation as the domain of environmentalists who mobilised support for the park, in the form of submissions and public meetings.

The other problem with the investigation process was the position of DoC who were supposed to be impartial. This was not possible simply because their mandate is the protection of New Zealand's landscape. Therefore DoC could not argue against increased protection for such a large area of the country.

The park was created by the Minister of Conservation, on the advice of the Conservation Authority. Within two years a management plan must be produced attempting to regulate free access (tourism and recreation) and protect preservation. Currently the impact of park on preservation and free access has not been significant. The park has not received any new funding to protect the flora and fauna. For users the

change in status has not resulted in any significant changes. However, according to the user survey, the title of national park for the area will attract more tourists. It has great marketing potential due to people equating national parks with spectacular and important natural landscapes. For the region to take advantage of the new national park it must improve its infrastructure. Factors such as signage, roading and transportation are currently not at national park standard according to park users. This raises the issue of balancing the need to develop areas to gain revenue and the need to protect the natural landscape.

### 7.3 A Resolution to Contestation

In Chapter one, Fig 1.2 envisaged the national land area as being split into that used for production and for preservation. The contested lands were landscapes over which interests clashed regarding whether they would be used for preservation or production. The creation of Kahurangi National Park moved this landscape firmly into preservation. It is these very clear cut divisions within the New Zealand landscape that create contestation. Many sought national park status for the area because they did not realise that Forest Park status accorded a significant degree of protection. This relates to Chapter three and the national park ideal which New Zealanders avidly adopted seeking total protection for scenic landscapes.

The idea of buffer zones provides a solution to the situation where preservation and production are so strictly defined. For Kahurangi the conflict centred around the fringes of the investigation area where contact between people and the park was most frequent. If this area had kept the protection status of a Forest Park then many activities which are not permitted in a national park could take place. The idea of buffer zones is an attempt to balance very disturbing trends that are appearing.

The first is that for DoC the reality of needing to be partially self-funding has meant that park charges are slowly being increased. If charges continue to

increase, which appears likely stated one DoC staff member, then parks will soon become the domain of wealthy New Zealanders and overseas tourists (pers.comm.). Another alternative held by Damien O'Connor the West Coast MP is to "sell off parts of the DoC landscape to pay for the rest" (pers.comm.). The repercussion of selling off the land would mean that DoC would lose complete control of the land.

Buffer zones would be an excellent compromise between total preservation, resulting in increased charges for users and selling large areas of the country's conservation estate. Development could occur in buffer zones and DoC could gain revenue through land concessions however, being the owner of the land it would still be able to minimise negative environmental impacts.

In the future new national parks will be created out of landscapes such as Kahurangi and if numerous interest within society are to be accorded a voice, then buffer zones would help to resolve some of the conflict over preservation lands identified. However, for this to succeed a realisation that strict divisions of land in New Zealand is not the ideal policy needs to occur.







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Wilson, R (1982): From Manapouri to Aramoana: the battle for New Zealand's environment. Auckland, Earthworks Press.

Wynn Graeme (1977): Conservation and Society in Late Nineteenth Century New Zealand. The Dunmore Press, Palmerston North.

## Additional References

Newspapers: The Press, Nelson Evening Mail, The Independent, Motueka - Golden Bay News, The Dominion.

Public Submissions to the North West South Island Investigation, DoC Nelson (ones specifically quoted are detailed in the references).







## Appendix A

### Interviews

#### Golden Bay:

Ill, J	Collingwood, Provides Transport to Heaphy Track	13 February 1997
Gillooly, P	Collingwood, Tourist Operator	13 February 1997
Climo, B	Collingwood, Tourist Operator	13 February 1997
Geoff, C	Parapara, Tourist Operator	14 February 1997
Sangster, P	Takaka, Golden Bay Promotions	14 February 1997
Milne, G	Golden Bay Federated Farmers	15 February 1997
Stratton, J	Nelson Business Development Board	20 February 1997
Marshall, K	Tasman Mayor	20 February 1997

#### Nelson:

Plum, W	New Zealand Deer Stalkers Association	20 February 1997
Logan, H	Nelson, DoC	21 February 1997
Horrell, R	Motueka Community Development Board	21 February 1997
Smith, N	MP Nelson and Minister of Conservation	1 March 1997
Blincoe, J	Former Nelson MP	3 March 1997
Woollaston, P	Nelson Mayor and former Minister of Conservation	3 March 1997
Salmon, G	Director of the Maruia Society	4 March 1997
Peak, A	Nelson, DoC	4 March 1997

#### West Coast:

O'Connor, D	MP West Coast	22 February 1997
O'Dea, P	Buller Mayor	22 February 1997
O'Regan	Buller District council and Farmer, Inangahua Valley	22 February 1997

Anonymous      Karamea Tourist operator

23 February 1997

McSweeney, G      Former Director of Forest and Bird

13 March 1997

Also:

Barr, H              Wellington, Federated Mountain Clubs

19 March 1997

Sage, E              Christchurch, Forest and Bird

18 March 1997

## Appendix B

This survey was used to interview groups and individuals involved in the investigation process.

### **For the operators and the people involved with the park.**

1 When you first heard about the proposed park were you for or against its creation.

2 Who do you believe was behind the creation of the National Park (groundswell, conservation groups, locals).

3 What did you see as the inherent positives/flaws in its creation.

4 Do you think that the submission process is fair to the public, pressure groups, bodies, etc.

5 Did any factors such as the potential for increased tourism, government money, loss of jobs due to economic decline, etc affect your decision. If so how did you become aware of these factors - formally (promises made to a group) or informally (hinting through the media etc.

6 Who do you think should ultimately decide if an area should become a national park. Also the criteria required for one. - biological, social, economic etc.

7 One year after its creation has your opinion changed regarding the park.

8 To what extent have the factors which may have prompted you to take a certain view regarding the park come true (following up from question 4).

9 Can you see benefits that have been gained by the creation of this National Park.

10 What are the lessons that can be learnt regarding the formation of a National Park.

Thank you very much for your co-operation. This information will help me a great deal in understand how the park is being utilised and the perceptions of it. If you have any other comments you would like to make about the questions or the national park please feel free to ask.

## Appendix C

You are invited to participate in the research project concerning Kahurangi national park by answering the following questions. The aim of this project is to look at the conflicting social values associated with the creation of the park. The results of the project will be used in a Masters Thesis, but you may be assured of the complete anonymity of the data gathered in this investigation. Individuals will not be identifiable from the aggregate data used in the thesis. The project is being carried out by Simon Powrie, who can be contacted at 364 2987 ext 8079 or his supervisor Eric Pawson at ext 6930.

Thank you very much for your co-operation. This information will help me a great deal in understanding how the park is being utilised and the perceptions of it. If you have any other comments you would like to make about the questions or the national park please feel free to ask.

This project has been approved been reviewed and approved by the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee.

Date of the Interview .....

Place Interviewed .....

1 Were you aware that this area was now a National Park ? ☐ YES  
☐ NO

2 What is the purpose of your visit to this National Park. Main activity undertaken ?

<input type="checkbox"/> CAMPING	<input type="checkbox"/> NATURAL HISTORY	<input type="checkbox"/> PICNICING
<input type="checkbox"/> CLIMBING	<input type="checkbox"/> TRAMPING	<input type="checkbox"/> HUNTING
<input type="checkbox"/> FISHING	<input type="checkbox"/> VIEWING SCENERY	<input type="checkbox"/> OTHER .....

3 Was the fact that the area is a National Park important in your decision to go there ? ☐ YES  
☐ NO

4 Are the facilities provided within and on the periphery satisfactory compared to other National Parks ?

☐ YES  
☐ NO      Comments about facilities .....

5 Through what source, if any, did you hear or see information about this National Park ?

<input type="checkbox"/> FILMS	<input type="checkbox"/> MOBILE DISPLAYS
<input type="checkbox"/> NEWSPAPERS	<input type="checkbox"/> RANGER STATIONS
<input type="checkbox"/> PAMPHLETS	<input type="checkbox"/> INFORMATION CENTRES
<input type="checkbox"/> RADIO	<input type="checkbox"/> OTHER .....

Respondent:

Country of Residence ..... Place of Residence (City &amp; Suburb) .....

Gender ..... Occupation .....

Age Group 15-24 ☐ 25-34 ☐ 35-44 ☐ 45-54 ☐ 55-64 ☐ 64+ ☐